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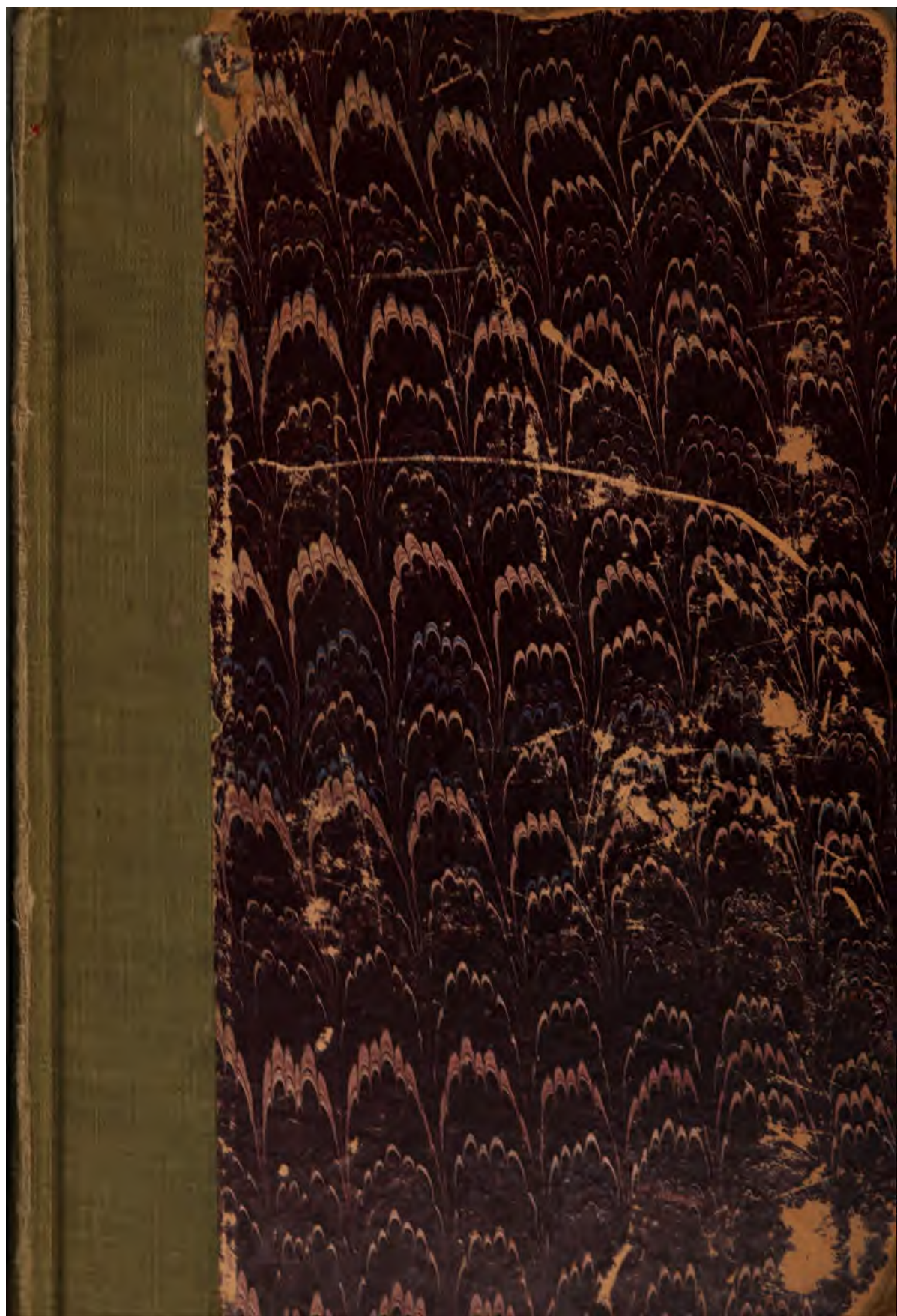
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THE GONGU-HRÓLFSSAGA

A STUDY IN OLD NORSE PHILOLOGY

BY

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THE GONGU-HRÓLFSSAGA

TO
PROFESSOR WILLIAM H. CARPENTER
AND
PROFESSOR ARTHUR F. J. REMY
OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

The completion of this work would have been impossible along the present lines if the author had not been able, throughout the course of his investigations, to draw without reserve on the advice and assistance of several gentlemen who were kind enough to place their special philological accomplishments at his disposal.

The author is indebted to Professor William H. Carpenter, of Columbia University, for the suggestion of the subject and for many hints as to the division and distribution of the material, as well as for many literary references of great value. To Professor Eugen Mogk, of Leipzig, are due the author's thanks for suggestions as to the source of some of the folklore material in GHS. Mr. Halldór Hermannsson, Custodian of the Fiske Icelandic Collection at the Cornell University Library, aided the author in properly utilizing the resources of that great collection, also by sending him lists of MSS. inaccessible in this city, and by introducing him by mail to Mr. Matthias Þórdarson, then of Copenhagen, now of Reykjavík, Iceland, who copied the *Göngu-Hrólfs Rímur* at Copenhagen, and later collated them with another MS. at Reykjavík.

Professor Arthur F. J. Remy, of Columbia University, carefully went over the entire MS., thus giving the author numerous corrections and suggestions based on an intimate acquaintance with the phonology of Old Norse and with the whole field of medieval literature. But for Professor Remy's generous gift of his time and his expert knowledge in these fields, the publication of these pages might have been much delayed. Mr. Charles F. Barnason, a native of Iceland, and now a student at the College of the City of New York, rendered valuable assistance in preparing the *Ríma* and translation for print.

To these gentlemen it is the author's privilege to acknowledge his great obligations; where anything has been derived from books, effort has been made to give proper credit.

J. W. H.

THE COLLEGE OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK,
January, 1912.

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EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Ant. Rus. Antiquités russes, see Bibliography.
AS. Anglo-Saxon.
Bibl. Bibliography.
cpd. compound.
CV. Cleasby and Vigfusson's Icelandic Dictionary.
Denm. Denmark.
Engl. English.
ESV. Eirikssaga víðförla.
Fas. Fornaldarsögur norðrlanda.
Fms. Fornmannasögur.
Fr. French.
Ger. German.
Gr. Greek.
GHS. Gøngu-Hrólf's Saga.
H.Hb. Helgakviða Hundingsbana.
Hjálm. ok Ólvés. Hjálmþérssaga ok Ólvés.
Hróm. S. Greip. Hrómundarsaga Greipssonar.
ISV = YngvSV.
Knytl. Knytlingasaga.
Krit. Bidr. Kritiske Bidrag, see Bibl., under "Storm."
Lat. Latin.
Lilj. Liljegren, see Bibl.
MHG. Middle High German.
MLG. Middle Low German.
Mod. Modern.
OF. Old French.
OHG. Old High German.
Sturl SS. Sturlaugssaga starfsama.
ON. Old Norse.
YngvSV. Yngvarssaga víðförla.

A few other abbreviations are explained at the head of the list of geographical names in the appendix.

CHAPTER I

THE FORNALDARSQUR IN GENERAL

In a consideration of the literature written in the Old Norse Language it has long been customary to regard as of greater importance those sagas that deal with purely historical persons and events, or such sagas as appear to be of this character. Possibly because the historical material orally preserved in Iceland was so relentlessly present in the minds of the people, the historical saga has always been put into a position of first importance as compared with the more distinctly fictional kind that we are about to consider. There can be no reason, in a study limited to a consideration of one comparatively insignificant work, for recasting all values in estimating the relative importance of the various literary forms employed in Icelandic literature. Yet it is an open question in Icelandic literature whether or not the main emphasis should be placed on the purely historical and didactic. In the medieval literature of the various European countries, pure fiction no doubt received the larger share of the popular as well as of the more aristocratic interest. Perhaps, as has been suggested, the interruptions in the continuity of continental history, and the resulting lack of connection with the story of great movements (a lack of connection due also no doubt in part to the infinitely greater vastness of the European community, in which the individual and the family must have appeared even then as of relatively slight importance), will to some extent explain the desire so apparent on the continent, to occupy oneself rather with the products of the imagination than with reality. The little band of Icelanders, on the other hand, who at no time in their history have exceeded the number of eighty thousand souls, have never at any time lost the knowledge of their relations to the persons and events of their national life.

Although the historical saga has always held the first place, it would be erroneous to assume that the existence of pure

fiction in the literature of the Icelanders is of very recent date. In fact, it is extremely probable that stories without historical foundation were very common before any prose narratives were put into writing at all, in other words, that they existed in oral tradition side by side with the historically correct accounts of the doings of real families. Although the recording of the fictitious stories does not begin as early as that of the comparatively true ones (which Mogk very plausibly explains by the fact that the greater esteem in which the latter were held required that the first efforts of native scribes writing in the vernacular be directed towards preserving them rather than the untrue),¹ we have no convincing reason to believe that they are less old as a class than the historical sagas. But the very fact that they were as a rule written down later implies, of course, that the extant forms of the fictitious sagas must be somewhat more recent than those of the historical sagas. Olrik² has shown that Saxo's history is founded almost entirely on current legendary accounts.

A truthful account of the life of an individual or of a family must be a really artistic production if it is to hold our attention for long. This requirement is of course fulfilled by the best historical sagas, but it should be remembered that where the faculty of invention is kept in check by the fear of possible criticism of fact, there is a strong chance for the prosy writer to become hopelessly prosy. That mere annals as such are comparatively unenjoyable to the seeker for literary stimulus, and that a saga must become dull through too great adherence to commonplace or perhaps sordid detail, goes without saying. It may almost, in fact, be set down as an axiom that as historical material becomes more and more exhausted, the repetition of it is bound to become dull unless it is narrated from a new point of view. What is really dramatic and imposing in the lives of the ancestors of any race, will finally all have been written, and attention will then be turned to more recent events. These, however, are often so closely connected with the legal practices of the times, that their narration may

¹ *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, vol. II, 1. Abt., p. 737 (2nd ed.).

² *Kilderne til Saxes Oldhistorie*, see Bibl.

very well be a bore to the reader who takes up the story several centuries after it has been written. Valdemar Vedel has pointed out that in many cases in the Icelandic sagas the war-like instincts of the Icelanders were beginning to manifest themselves within the forms prescribed by a gradually stiffening legal code, and that what might have been the story of pitched battles was transformed into the tale of dreary legal controversies.³ Even so perfect a work as the *Njáls saga*⁴ does not escape, from the point of view of the modern reader, the charge of being too prolix in the recital of the litigations of the time, which to us are seldom intelligible without special study. Of course we must not confound our point of view with that of the contemporary hearers of the story. But is it not possible that the increase of purely conventional activities, which is one of the characteristic concomitants of an advancing civilization, may have made the lives of the Norwegians and Icelanders less interesting as subjects of artistic treatment? At any rate, we find that the Norsemen presently begin to invent new pastures for the imagination to stray in, because their present, like our own, was becoming too real, too actual, for them, and they needed the stimulus of that which had never been on sea or land.

These brief remarks are in no sense to be regarded as an adequate history of the origin of the mythical saga, but rather as an attempt to characterize briefly the attitude of mind that would result in the production and favorable reception of purely fictitious writings even in a community that regarded them as secondary in importance to such as were strictly historical. The worthiness of the fictitious saga as an object of attention will become even more apparent through the efforts of men like Alexander Bugge to show that the boundary-line between the fictitious and the historical sagas is by no means as clear as has been supposed. On the other hand, there is

³ *Heldenleben (Mittelalterliche Kulturideale)* Leipzig, 1910, p. 133: "Die Rechtsordnung . . . verwandelt die Heldendichtung in Prozessromane."

⁴ Hoff's *Hovedpunkter af den Oldislandske Litteraturhistorie*, Copenhagen 1875, which gives only the most sketchy information, has this to say on *Njála* (p. 21): "Det er den ypperste af dem alle (i. e., the family sagas), klassisk i sprog, sammensætning og karakterskildring, dog lidt tung at læse, da retsvesenet spiller en så betydelig rolle deri."

a different error that must be avoided in the consideration of the fictitious sagas. We have tried to show above that the strictly historical account may at times have become less interesting to the natives themselves; it would be wrong to assume that the unhistorical account is necessarily more interesting to the modern reader through the absence of practices current at the time of the saga's composition. As a rule this kind of saga is not nearly so carefully constructed, and moreover has other defects, as will appear in this and the following chapters.

What would be the natural literary outcome of a desire not to read painstakingly accurate accounts of persons in their up-to-date actions, clothes, speech and relations? And above all, what would be the result of an attempt to impart to a literary work the appearance of having been composed in the dim, dark, "fore-time," when things were simple and men did not go to law, but fought fiercely with strange monsters and with each other? The most disillusioning element possible in such a story of the old times would be the necessity of associating these events with the places in which the readers were now living: the first trick of the writer of the untrue saga is therefore to shift the scene of action to a far-off country. If he be an Iceland, the last country he will think of introducing will be Iceland, but he will be careful also to avoid too great familiarity with the other three Scandinavian countries; at any rate, if he intends to introduce the supernatural at all, he will not lay the scene in one of those lands, but rather in some other, much less familiar country, the inhabitants of which the reader is willing to credit with harmful practices. It will also be the duty of the author to remove his story, in point of time, as far as possible from the reader. The greatest collection of "untrue" sagas appropriately bears the name "*Fornaldarsögur*," a name given by the collector, C. C. Rafn, to the compilation which is still the authoritative one in this field (see Bibl.). Finnur Jónsson also names these *Fornaldarsögur* "oldtidssagaer," by which he means, "sagas of prehistoric times."⁵

In regard to the habits and characteristics of his personages, the author will have to make everything as general and vague

⁵ *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Literaturs Historie*, p. 790: "hvor oldtid er forhistorisk tid fra nutidens standpunkt."

as possible, in order to forestall any comparison with the habits of his contemporaries. In short, he will seek to maintain an antique and exotic flavor rather by fabricating than by borrowing from a more authoritative saga; his characters will be mere general types with very general names;⁶ his stories will be pure romances. While, as we shall see, the main characters remain Scandinavian, foreign names occur in many of the *Fornaldarsögur*⁷ and those in the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* are particularly interesting. Exaggeration and extravagance are the breath of life to the *Fas.*, and the character of the campaigns and voyages undertaken is often such as to remove all appearance of reality from the story. Jónsson's complete definition of the *Fas.* is here given, inasmuch as it sums up briefly their main characteristics: "The sagas thus called are a group of sagas dealing with persons, some of whom were or are believed to have been historical. Most of these personages are Scandinavians, many Danes, and they are at least genealogically connected with real families and dynasties. Other characters are altogether unhistorical, fabricated Scandinavians, who may in some way or other be considered together with the more historical ones, and furthermore appear to belong to the same class because of their entire character and activities. To these sagas we must add a few others which deal, either wholly or in part with non-Scandinavian subjects or persons, especially with characters such as occur in German legend, including the Saga of Dietrich von Bern (provided the latter saga be really Icelandic)."

Jónsson's definition informs us that while we may expect to find foreign names creeping in, the characters of the *Fas.* will, in the main, be Scandinavians. But as their adventures, in order to be sufficiently foreign, must be removed to other climes, one of the first important devices in the story will be to transport the hero to foreign shores. Rebukes, incriminations, or insults received from a parent would be a natural method of arousing the rebellious instincts of a high-spirited son, besides being a device not unknown in the more legiti-

⁶ Op. cit., p. 820.

⁷ Hereafter the abbreviation *Fas* will be used for *Fornaldarsögur* and *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*.

mate historical sagas.⁸ In GHS this trick is used with great effect. Another thing that the writers would be likely to avoid is the too frequent occurrence of real Icelandic names, which would result in making the stories seem too familiar to the reader, and thus impairing the impression of remoteness in time and space that the authors are striving for. The indices of the personal names occurring in the *Landnáma* (which may be cited as representative of the strictly historical saga), on the one hand, and of those occurring in the *Fas.*,⁹ on the other, afford a very striking and interesting material for comparison. Thus, while the *Landnáma* is found to abound in purely Icelandic names, such as Thorkell, Thorsteinn, such names are almost entirely absent in the *Fas.*, occurring there but two or three times each. It was perhaps felt by the writers that these well-known, familiar names were little fitted to be used for heroes that were intended to produce an ancient, venerable, prehistoric impression, and that for this purpose the time-honored names of royal dynasties in the old peninsular home were more appropriate. This carefully selective process is indicative not only of erudition and sophistication, but also of a consistent artistic purpose in the composition of the *Fas.* The writers were acquainted not only with many historical sagas, but, also, in some cases, with other sagas of the *Fas.* class. It is to this latter fact that we must attribute the recurrence of the same person in several of the *Fas.* In fact, it is hard to resist the conclusion that sometimes an entire *Fas.* may have been originally suggested by the name of some person not sufficiently described in some other *Fas.*¹⁰ Thus, one of the

⁸ *Vatnsdælasaga*, c. 2.

⁹ It is unfortunate that the index of persons in *Fas* must remain inaccessible for most readers, as the original edition of Rafn, now difficult to obtain, is the only one that contains full indices. The later edition of Ásmundarson contains neither the indices nor any other critical material.

¹⁰ We shall so often have occasion to mention the *Fas.*, that a list of the sagas contained in the three volumes (of either edition), is here given:

I. Hrólfs saga kraka ok kappá hans, Völsungasaga, Ragnars saga loðbrókar ok sona hans, þáttur af Ragnars sonum, Norna-Gests þáttur, Sörla þáttur, Sögubrot af nokkurum fornkonungum í Dana ok Svía veldi, Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks.

II. Hversu Noregr byggðist, Fundinn Noregr, Hálf's saga ok Hálf'srekka, Af Upplendinga konungum, Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar, Friðþjófs saga þens

chief characters in *Sturlaugssaga starfsama* (the story of Gǫngu-Hrólfr's father) is Ása, the sister of Egil, who becomes the wife of Ásmund's friend Herrauðr at the end of *Egils saga ok Ásmundar* (c. 17). As GHS may have been composed to complete the story of Sturlaug's offspring,¹¹ why may not *Sturlaugssaga starfsama* also have been written to explain what became of Egil's sister Ása? The close interdependence of many of the *Fas.* will appear when we consider the origins of some of the motives of GHS in the chapter devoted to the sources and materials of the saga (IV).

In order that we may later emphasize not only the points of agreement between GHS and the other sagas of its class, but also the points of difference, it will be well to pass in review such other characteristics of the *Fas.* as may be predicated of the entire collection with a fair degree of universality. As has been shown above, some of these qualities are conditioned in advance by the very nature of the *Fas.*, which are essentially productions that aim to escape the limitations of historical reality. If this fact necessarily involves shifting the scene of action to distant lands, if it further requires a simulation of the ancient rather than an adherence to what is more recent, it follows that this kind of literature will demand improbable and supernatural incidents with as much frequency as the more probable and natural ones. And as the faculty of invention rarely succeeds anywhere in constructing entirely new motives, we may expect to find the writers of the sagas in question utilizing not so much the firm outlines of the historical sagas, with their matter-of-fact, unadorned plots, but rather the unwritten folk-stories which are known to teem with improbable and even impossible motives. The collection of these has been one of the chief tasks of critical scholarship in the nineteenth

froekna, Ketils saga haenge, Grims saga loðinkinna, Orvar-Odds saga, Ans saga bogsveigis, Hrómundarsaga Greipssonar, Ásmundarsaga kappabana.

III. Gautreks saga (also called Gjafa-Refs saga ok Dalafilla), Hrólf's saga Gautrekssonar, Bósa saga ok Herrauðs, Gǫngu-Hrólfs saga, Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana, Sörla saga sterka, Hjalmpérs saga ok Ólvis, Hálfðánar saga Eysteinnssonar, Hálfðánarsaga Brǫnufóstra, Sturlaugs saga starfsama, Illuga saga Griðarfóstra, Eireks saga víðforla.

¹¹ Gǫngu-Hrólfr is in GHS a son of Sturlaug, who is mentioned several times in GHS (see Synopsis, Chapter III of this work).

century.¹² In the selection of characters for the *Fas.*, this predilection for the improbable, from our point of view grotesque, creatures of popular legend is especially noticeable. Of such characters found there side by side with the ordinary human beings, a few typical examples may be presented:

Giants, both male and female, occur frequently, often with cannibalistic traits, and of course, monstrous in size and exceedingly ugly. In a few instances the female appears to be more kindly disposed toward mortals than the male, and goes so far as to assist the human hero in his undertakings against her own male relatives of the giant race. A typical instance of this is afforded by *Egils saga ok Ásmundar*, where the giantess Arinnefja aids Egil and Ásmund in their attempt to free the daughters of the king of Russia from the hands of Arinnefja's two giant brothers. She even preserves Egil's hand, after it has been cut off, in life-giving herbs, and later causes the hand to grow on again in its proper place. Attention is called to this peculiar device, as we shall have occasion to notice a close parallel in GHS and in Icelandic folk-lore.¹³ The giant women, in some cases, therefore, show strong attachment, as well as gratitude to mortals for any services rendered to them by the latter. Jónsson¹⁴ calls attention to the fact that the giantesses are the chief representatives of the purely sexual element in the *Fas.*, which fact he explains as an outcome of corrupted taste due to foreign influence, as there are no parallels in the historical sagas, but an abundance of them in the *rímur*. He grants, however, that the "unembellished obscenities" of the *Bósasaga* are in part an original home product. Besides giantesses and monsters there are also human beings that have been transformed by magic into the shapes of monsters. Thus the sorceress Luða¹⁵ changes her stepson into a servant to the giants, and her two daughters into a *finngálkn* and giant's maid, respectively, and all because her stepson would not aid

¹² A task performed in Germany by the brothers Grimm in their *Kinder u. Hausmärchen*; for Iceland the collections by Rittershaus and Jón Árnason are of great importance (see Chap. IV).

¹³ See reference to Adeline Rittershaus, *Volksmärchen*, on p. 41 f.

¹⁴ Op. cit., p. 795.

¹⁵ *Hjálmpérs saga ok Ólvis*, *Fas* III, c. 20 et passim.

her in carrying out her lascivious wishes. Etymological connection between the first syllable of *finngálkn* and the name of the people to whom the Scandinavians above all ascribed the art of witchcraft, is apparent.¹⁶

Berserkers play a prominent part in the *Fas*. In the king's army there are usually several such, who perform the most sensational and effective work of the battle, the account of which therefore usually resolves itself into a narration of the individual combats between the berserkers and the heroes, accompanied by an enumeration of those killed by each combatant. The ability to view a battle as a series of mass movements is wholly lacking, being an acquirement of relatively recent date.

In so far as the berserker may possess magic powers, there is a similarity between him and the real *sorcerer*, who is not infrequently a *dwarf*. These sorcerers must be distinguished according to their practice of the various forms of witchcraft (*galdr*, *seið*, v. CV). The dwarf Mjondull in GHS is interesting in that he absolutely lacks any individuality, exerting his powers quite as readily in Gøngu-Hrólf's interests as in his own, and this for almost no apparent reason. But of all the persons in the saga who possess supernatural powers it is in his case that these powers are the most amply described. In fact, this is done by the dwarf himself.

In regard to Geography (see Chapter VI), the *Fas*. rather avoid mention of Iceland, and, when speaking of Scandinavian countries, prefer Norway and Sweden to Denmark.¹⁷ Garðaríki and Bjarmaland are great favorites, probably because of their remoteness and also because of the legendary character of the knowledge which the Icelanders had concerning them. The inhabitants of Bjarmaland, and the Finns, their neighbors, are frequently represented as a race of sorcerers.¹⁸ Jónsson¹⁹ cites an interesting parallel to the state of confusion in the mind of the author of GHS, concerning geographical conditions,

¹⁶ CV s. v. *finngálkn*.

¹⁷ Outside of GHS XXXVII, largely devoted to geographical description, there is practically no mention of Denmark in that saga.

¹⁸ Because they lived so far away, fabrication concerning them was easy.

¹⁹ Op. cit., p. 798.

especially in respect to Garðaríki (see Chap. VI, Geography). Thus the author of *Orvar-Odds saga* is not at all clear in his notions of the geographical relations between Garðaríki and Bjarmaland, being under the impression that it is possible to sail from Gandvik (now the White Sea) into the Baltic, without rounding the north of Norway and sailing along the entire west coast of that country. Jónsson adds that it is probably the geographical proximity of these two countries that produced the impression that the body of water on which they (i. e., Garðaríki and Bjarmaland) lay, must be directly connected.

From what has been said above it will be readily understood why the incidents of the *Fas.* are necessarily unhistorical, or at any rate, less historical than those of the so-called historical sagas. That the *Fas.* were as a rule written down later than the historical sagas has already been mentioned. It has also been pointed out that the fictitious subject matter of these *Fas.* is represented as more ancient than the merely historical material. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that this subject matter is really ancient or drawn from folk-lore or myth, although we shall have occasion to speak of the folk-lore element when we come to discuss the sources and materials of GHS (Chap. IV).

CHAPTER II

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GONGU-HRÓLSSAGA

The best Mss. of GHS, as well as some of less importance, are to be found in the celebrated Arnamagnæan Collection at Copenhagen. Those in that collection that are worthy of attention are:

1. AM 152 fol. Vellum, 15th century. Ff 98v-116.
2. AM 169c fol. Paper, 17th century. Ff 9-12. Two fragments:
 - a) from the beginning of the saga to "og voru kappa hans hier að mykelyrkiu;"
 - b) from "við asa tun norður fra skatna stoðum" to the end.
3. AM 338, 4°. Paper, about 1700. Written by Eyjolfur Björnsson. 88 ff.
4. AM 552d, 4°. Paper, end of the 17th century. Probably written by Ólafur Gíslason. F 10 obv: from the beginning of the saga until "var þat aetlan manna at moðir orms" . . . the rest lacking.
5. AM 567 XI. a-b 4°. Two vellum fragments:
 - a) 2 ff. Second half of the 14th century. Begins "Son. hogr gelli"; ends: "þessir menn foru i lid med hrolfi ok".
 - b) 2 ff. 15th century. The first leaf begins with the beginning of the saga as far as: "hun var jafnan med"; the second leaf begins: "yðr giora. Wil ek kongiora yður."
6. AM 587c, 4°. Paper, written 1655. 32 ff.
7. AM 589f, 4°. Paper, 15th century. Ff 13v-36. After ff. 17, 22, and 31, lacks one leaf. The saga ends now on f. 36 obv, with the words: "Fraegd eðr vizku", after which the rest, filling two-thirds of the page, seems to have been erased.

8. 'AM 591e, 4°. Paper, written in the second half of the 17th century by Ólafur Gíslason. Ff iv-15 obv.

The great collection of Arni Magnússon, of which the above Mss. are a part, is now the property of the University of Copenhagen. The University Library also possesses, in its other collections, the following:

9. Rask 35. Paper, 18th century. Ff 168-230; ends with "Aftur til valsins".
10. Add. 2, 8°. Paper, written 1718-1720 by Einar Nikúlasson. Pp. 1-115. Begins in Chapter 3: "með synu föru neite".

The Ancient Royal Collection also has the following (Gammel Kongelig Samling, Royal Library, Copenhagen):

11. Gl. kgl. Sml. 1003fol. Vellum, 17th century. Written by Páll Sveinsson, ff 25-48.
12. Gl. kgl. Sml. 1006fol. Paper, 17th century. Written by Jón Erlandsson, pp. 121-216.
13. Gl. kgl. Sml. 2845, 4°. Vellum, 15th century. Ff 39 obv-54 obv.

The Modern Royal Collection has the following:

14. Ny kgl. Sml. 1147fol. Vellum, 17th century, ff 82 obv-98 obv.
15. Ny kgl. Sml. 1178fol. Paper, 18th century, second half, written by M. Magnússen, 161 pp. A copy of AM 152fol.
16. Ny kgl. Sml. 1746, 4°. Paper, second half of the 18th century, written by T. Olavius. 161 pp. A copy of AM 338, 4°.
17. Ny kgl. Sml. 1747, 4°. Paper, second half of the 18th century; written by Th. M. Isfjörð. 18 pp., containing "Variantes ad Gaungu-Hrólf's sögu" from AM 587c, 4°.

Kall's Collection, also in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, has the following:

18. Kall 254 fol. Paper, written 1688. 18 ff.

In the National Library at Reykjavík, the following Mss. in the collection of the Icelandic Literary Society, contain large portions of GHS:

19. Fol. No. 43. Paper, 35 chapters.
20. Qvart. No. 144. Paper, written by Jón Sigurðsson about 1771. 28 chapters.
21. Qvart. No. 165. Paper, written 1778. 25 chapters, pp. 75-110.
22. Qvart. No. 210. Paper, written 1841 by H. Ketilsson, a mere fragment.
23. Oct. No. 283. Paper, 17th century, a fragment.
24. Qvart. No. 269. Paper, 17th century, 37 chapters.
25. Oct. No. 395. Paper, 18th century. 36 chapters.
26. Oct. No. 593. Paper, a fragment.
27. Rvík.-Deild. Qvart. No. 56. Paper, 10th century. 25 chapters.

Two libraries in Sweden have Mss. of GHS: the Upsala University Library, and the Royal Library of Stockholm. Of those cited below, all that are marked Cod. Holm. belong to the latter, the only remaining one to the former:

28. Cod. Holm. chart. No. 88fol. The Icelandic text with the written Swedish version that is printed as the second part of Liljegren's *Skandinaviska Fornålderns Hjeltesagor*.
29. Cod. Holm. chart. No. 7, 4°. The Swedish version, as in preceding.
30. Cod. Holm. chart. No. 30, 4°. A copy made by Guðmundr Ólafsson, c. 1680-1690.
31. Cod. Holm. chart. No. 43, 4°.
32. Cod. Holm. chart. No. 80, 8°.
33. R 707. Braad's Collection, 4°. Paper. Ff 16-94 (pp. 1-156). Written by Braad (1745/1746) from Cod. Holm. chart. 4°. No. 30. 7.

Rafn, in the preface to the third volume of his *Fas.*, which has the only tolerable text of GHS, classifies the Mss. used by him in the preparation of his text of GHS under the four heads: *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*. *A* includes numbers 1 and 3 of the above list; *B* is number 13; *C* is number 7; *D* includes numbers 2, 4, and 6. It will thus be seen that Rafn drew no information from any copies of the saga not obtainable in Copenhagen, with the possible exception of information that may

have been derived from the version and the notes by Liljegren, which had already appeared in print (in Swedish, 1818).

If we add to the above editions of Rafn and Liljegren, the poor reprint in Fas. 1888, 1889, concerning all of which information will be found in the Bibliography, under the heads, *Rafn*, *Liljegren*, *Ásmundarson*, respectively, we have exhausted the list of editions of GHS.

CHAPTER III

A SYNOPSIS OF THE GONGU-HRÓLFSSAGA

Shorter synopses may be found in *Mogk* (pp. 848-849), *Finnur Jónsson* (II, 824-825), *Sagabibliothek* (II, 646-654). It has been thought well, for several reasons, to give here a longer and more detailed epitome of the story. In the first place, references to the story will frequently be made, and to explain these it will be necessary to have at hand a complete summary of the contents of the chapter in question. Furthermore, some of the Mss. of the GHS, notably those at Stockholm, have not been utilized in Rafn's edition of the *Fas.*, and are now found mentioned only in Liljegren's Swedish translation. As these Swedish Mss (judging from Liljegren's translation), appear to diverge in some interesting points from the Mss used by Rafn (see under "Fenidi" in the list of Geographical Names in the Appendix), and as, moreover, Liljegren has divided the story into sixty chapters, whereas in both *Fas.* editions it has only thirty-eight, it has been deemed advisable to add the Swedish names by way of superscription, and to affix the Arabic numerals given by Liljegren to the chapters that correspond in his edition to the Roman numbers of the text editions.

Two series of paginations are here given for *Fas.*: the first, in italics, is that of *Fas.* 1830, the second, plain Roman, is that of *Fas.* 1889; the earlier edition being Rafn's, the latter Ásmundarson's. In each case it is the third volume that is meant. It will be seen that Liljegren breaks up the original chapters into three or four where they are too long.

I. 236-240, 146-147. Konung Reggvid och hans Härkläd-nad 1. Hreggvið was the king of Hólmgarðariki; the saga expressly disclaims any knowledge of his wife. Ingigerð was his daughter, the most beautiful of maidens, with long yellow hair. The king had caught his horse Dulcifer in the neigh-

borhood of the river Dýna, which flows through Garðaríki. For seven years he has harried the peoples in the neighborhood of this river, returning home after all have given him up for dead. The horse refuses to be ridden in battle by any one who is not victorious, nor will Hreggvið's lance and shield, when struck together, give forth any sound, unless victory is assured.

II. 240-242, 147-148. Konung Erik och hans Berserkar 2. Erik, a sea-king, rules Gestrekaland in Sweden, the inhabitants of which are of great strength and stature. His sister Gyða is very beautiful. Four of his knights are of particular value to him in warfare: the brothers Sörkver and Brynjólfr, Þórðr Hlesseyjarskalli and his foster-brother Grímr. Both the latter have been brought up by Gróa, a vǫlva, the mother of Þórðr. Grím's mother must have been a sea-woman, as he is equally at home on water and on land. It is also stated that he eats the flesh and drinks the blood of both men and beasts.

III. 242-248, 148-153. Konungarne Reggvids och Eriks strid 3, Konung Erik och Prinsessen Ingegärd 4. Erik invades Hreggvið's land. The latter goes forth to meet him, although Dulcifal refuses to be ridden by him and other unfavorable omens are observed. Hreggvið is slain and his army put to flight. His daughter Ingigerð, when asked by Erik whether he can confer any favor on her, requests to be allowed to rule one fourth of her father's kingdom for three years, each year picking a man to do single combat with Sörkver. If the latter shall ever be defeated by Ingigerð's champion, the forces of Erik are to leave the country. Hreggvið, as Ingigerð also stipulates, is buried in a strong mound, over which Erik, the victor, causes powerful charms to be spoken, to prevent anyone but the wearer of Hreggvið's armor, which is buried with him, from defeating Sörkver.

IV. 248-251, 153-155. Gänge Rolfs härkomst 5. Sturlaug the strong, who rules over Hringaríki in Norway, and his wife Ása have four sons: Rognvald, Fraðmar, Erik, Hrólfr. The last is so heavy that his horse cannot carry him a whole day. He is on bad terms with his father Sturlaug and his brothers. Finally, when told one day by his father to get married and

settle down, he is angry and decides to leave the place, but not before he has obtained from his mother two cloaks that Véfrejja, her fostermother, made for Sturlaug long ago. When he disappears, "ekki er þess getit, at Sturlaugr gaefi sér um burtferð Hrólfs".

V. 251-251, 155-156. Stefners hárkomst 6. Þorgnýr rules Jótland in Denmark. His wife is dead, but has left him two children: Stefner, who is strong and skilful, and Þóra, who is very pretty. Þorgnýr's councillor is Björn, of whom he is very fond. Björn is married and his wife's name is Ingibjörg.

VI. 252-258, 156-160. Rolf och Atle 7, Rolfs strid med elfva män 8, Rolf och Vikingen Jólgeir 9. Three adventures of Hrólfr. First, he enters an empty house and is discovered by Atli Ótryggson, the returning owner, who tries to kill him in order to take revenge on Sturlaug, who has outlawed him. But Hrólfr kills Atli. Then, being mistaken for Atli, he is attacked by eleven men, but kills them all. Finally, he is hired by the skipper Jólgeir to serve on the latter's ship, but in the course of an altercation with him, he kills Jólgeir and is made captain by the latter's eighty men with whom he sails to Jótland, landing near the castle of Þorgnýr Jarl.

VII. 258-259, 160-161. Rolfs ankomst till Thorgrim Jarl 10. One day, while Þorgnýr is drinking at table, the door of the chamber is opened, and in comes a tall stout man, with a big spear in his hand. He declares himself to be Hrólfr, the son of Sturlaug, and that he has come to Þorgnýr's court in order to learn the manners and customs of his earldom. Þorgnýr receives him gladly, gives him a large castle for his eighty men, and allows him to share in the defence of the country. Hrólfr gets to be on very good terms with Stefner and with Björn, Þorgnýr's councillor.

VIII. 259-262, 161-163. Slaget mot Berserkarne Tryggve och Wase 11. Tryggvi Ulfkellsson of Bukansíðu in Skotland and his fosterbrother Vazi come to Denmark in order to avenge the death of their father on Þorgnýr, his slayer. Þorgnýr being old, puts Hrólfr and Stefner in charge of the ten ships of his fleet, which attack the twelve of Tryggvi's fleet. Hrólfr and Stefner board the huge dragon ship of Tryggvi and Vazi

and capture it, besides sinking six of the enemy's ships. Tryggvi jumps overboard and is drowned.

IX. 262-266, 163-166. Rafn och Krake 12. Two unknown men, Hrafn and Krákr, declaring themselves to be Flemish, visit Þorgnýr and beg to be his winter guests, appealing to his well-known hospitality to strangers. He accepts them as his guests, but is dismayed later, at a ball game, to find them maltreating his subjects, beating and maiming them in the course of the game. Hrólf and Stefner are called to play against the unwelcome guests. When Hrafn breaks the neck of one of the players in this game, Þorgnýr orders him to be taken and killed. But after Hrólf has subdued Hrafn and Stefner has captured Kráki, it is decided to pardon them on the ground of their evidently noble origin. They show very little gratitude, departing without a word of thanks.

X. 266-267, 166-167. Thorgrim Jarls löfte 13. One autumn day, when Þorgnýr is sitting by his wife's funeral mound, a swallow flies over him, dropping a silk handkerchief containing a long silken hair. In the evening, those to whom the hair is shown declare it to be that of a woman, and Þorgnýr vows that he will either marry her to whom the hair belongs, or die in the attempt. A few days later, when Þorgnýr, in a general assembly, asks to whom this hair may belong, he is informed by Björn, his councillor, of the fate of Hreggvið and of the long hair of Hreggvið's daughter Ingigerð, to whom Björn is sure this hair belongs.

XI. 267-268, 167-168. Rolf erbjuder sig resa till Gardaríke 14. On receiving this information from Björn, Þorgnýr promises the hand of his daughter Þóra to him who will defeat Sörkver and bring back Ingigerð to Denmark. None of the men volunteer, until Hrólf declares that, in return for the excellent treatment he has received at the hands of Þorgnýr, he will try to do it: only, as he has no desire to marry, he will not hold the jarl to his promise as to the disposition of his daughter's hand. The jarl thanks Hrólf and offers him as large a following as he may desire, but as Hrólf prefers to go alone, the assembly is dismissed, Hrólf going back to his castle and the rest to their homes.

XII. 268-270, 168-169. Rolf träffar Wilhelm Svekfull 15. A short time after, Hrólf steps out unnoticed, with his cloak Véfreyjunaut,¹ his spear Atlanaut,¹ a bow and a quiver of arrows. Some distance out from Denmark (it is not mentioned in what direction), he meets a man who calls himself Vilhjálmr and who proposes these alternatives to him: either Hrólf is to inform Vilhjálmr of his name, destination and object, or Vilhjálmr will kill him. Not satisfied with this choice, Hrólf decides to fight and is victorious over Vilhjálmr, whose life he spares on condition, however, that he is to follow Hrólf as a servant, although Hrólf does not quite trust his deceitful eyes. Vilhjálmr is also bound for Garðaríki, where he intends to open Hreggvið's tomb and thus to win the hand of Erik's sister Gyða.

XIII. 270-272, 169-171. Wilhelm Svekfull binder Rolf 16. They arrive one day at a dwelling owned by Ölvi, a friend of Vilhjálmr, who receives them well and invites them to drink with him. As the evening wears on, Hrólf becomes more and more intoxicated and goes to bed, falling asleep immediately. He awakens during the night to find himself tied to a post and surrounded by Vilhjálmr and his friends. A great fire is burning in front of him, in which Vilhjálmr threatens to roast him unless he will go to Garðaríki with Vilhjálmr, and accomplish for him the opening of Hreggvið's tomb and any other deeds that may be necessary in order that Vilhjálmr may win Gyða. Hrólf has no choice but to submit, and they go (by what road is not stated), to Aldeigjuborg, where King Erik receives them.

XIV. 272-273, 171-172. Ankomsten till Gardaríki 17. King Erik is just sitting at table: when he asks the visitors who they may be, Vilhjálmr answers thus: "My name is Vilhjálmr and this is my servant Hrólfr, who is with me. I am the son of an earl in Frisland, from which I am a fugitive, as the land was taken away from me by my own subjects." The king questions Vilhjálmr as to his knightly accomplishments, and hears a very boastful account of the latter's feats of prowess. He turns to Hrólfr and asks him about his skill, but Hrólfr, in accordance with the agreement between him and

¹ An object is called the *nautr* of the person from whom it comes, CV.

Vilhjálmm, disclaims all knightly accomplishments. Sörkver and Brynjólfur are not at home, being away on a trip to Jötunheim with Grímr aegir. Erik, it seems, has enjoyed a very peaceful time since his conquest of Garðaríki.

XV. 273-278, 172-176. Konung Eriks Jagt ock villkörliga löfte 18, Rolfs och Vilhjalms jagt 19. Erik and his men have unsuccessfully pursued a hart that the king very much desired to own, and Vilhjálmm is asked to make good his boasts by capturing the animal. Erik's sister Gyða is to be his reward. He accordingly sets out with Hrólf, but the latter is the only one who dares continue the journey. Hrólf comes to a clearing in the woods, in which there is a house; out of it comes a woman, who informs him that she will make the hart his if he will come in and touch her daughter, who is at present in great pain, as she is unable to bring forth a child unless she is touched by the hand of a man. Hrólf complies with her request, and she gives him the hart, together with the ring alfkönunaut, which will help him out of any place when he has lost his way. With the hart he rejoins Vilhjálmm, who takes all the credit for the capture, but owing to Erik's suspicion that it is Hrólf who has performed this deed, Erik demands that Vilhjálmm shall obtain Hreggvið's armor before he will grant him the hand of his sister Gyða.

XVI. 279-284, 176-180. Rolfs färd till Reggvids Hög 20. On their way to Hreggvið's mound, Hrólf and Vilhjálmm meet with an awful storm, which Hrólf suspects to have been the cause of the death of all those who have ventured on this errand before, for none of them have ever returned. Hrólf alone scales the high paling which surrounds the enormous mound, and sees within a human figure of royal appearance, Hreggvið's ghost. The ghost denies that he is to blame for the recent storm and attributes it to Sörkver and Grímr aegir. He recognizes that Hrólf is the only man who can free his daughter; he therefore gives him two sets of armor, only one of which is to be given to Vilhjálmm. Hreggvið further declares that it was he who appeared to Þorgnýr in the form of a swallow, in order to cause Hrólf to set out on this journey. Erik, on their return, is still incredulous as to Vilhjálmm's prowess.

XVII. 284-286, 180-182. Sote Berserks ankomst till Gardaríke 21. The possession of the island of Heðinsey is being disputed by Erik of Garðaríki and Menelaus of Tattararíki. The latter has appointed Sóti to guard the island. Sóti and Norðri invade Garðaríki, and Erik, who has no faith in Vilhjálms claim to have performed the other two feats, now calls upon him to kill Sóti. In return for this third feat he will surely obtain the hand of Gyða. Vilhjálms agrees, on condition that he may use for this purpose the best horse and weapons the king has. Hrólf of course goes with him and the king is also in their army. The hostile armies meet.

XVIII. 286-290, 182-185. Eriks och Sotes slag 22, Wilhelm får Gyða 23. Vilhjálms keeps out of the battle and Hrólf, clad in one of the garments Hreggvið has given him, fights in his place. He kills Sóti, and Erik kills Norðri. Then, as the army of the enemy is fleeing, Hrólf returns to where Vilhjálms is hiding in the woods, and together they go back to the town, Vilhjálms visiting Gyða and boasting of his deeds before her. Erik is less impressed than ever with his prowess and suspects Hrólf of being the real hero. But as Erik cannot again go back on his word, Vilhjálms and Gyða are married.

XIX. 290-291, 185-186. Rolf uppsägor sin tjenst 24. One morning Hrólf comes to Vilhjálms bed and tells him, now that the latter has attained his object, Hrólf will leave his service in accordance with their agreement. Gyða asks how Hrólf can make such a statement, and Vilhjálms appeases her curiosity by saying that Hrólf is a restless man who can never stay in one place for a long time. After Sörkver and Brynjólf come back from Jötunheim in the spring, Hrólf does not see either them or Vilhjálms frequently. The third winter is approaching, the last in which Ingigerð may pick a champion to fight for her against Sörkver, and Erik thinks it is likely that she never will find one.

XX. 291-294, 186-188. Ingegärd väljer man att kämpa mot Sörkver 25. Ingigerð sends messengers to Erik, asking that a general assembly be called, in which she may choose her champion. Hrólf is present with Hreggvið's sword, and, although seated in an inconspicuous place, is chosen by Ingigerð

as she passes along the lines. Erik, instinctively fearing trouble from Hrólf, advises Ingigerð to choose a more illustrious champion. But she persists and takes Hrólf home with her, treating him as an honored guest. Next morning, Hrólf puts on Hreggvið's armor and mounts Dulcifal, who does not resist; lance and shield, struck together, also produce the sounds that foretell victory.

XXI. 295-296, 188-190. Rolfs och Sörkvers tornering 26. In the conflict Sörkver loses his shield and Hrólf kills him in the third tilt by throwing him into a pit, thus breaking his neck. Erik orders his men to kill Hrólf at once, but mounted on Dulcifal, who breathes fire and bites men to death, he fights his way to safety. At Ingigerð's castle, both she and Hrólf mount Dulcifal, taking with them two large boxes, in which are her jewels.

XXII. 296-298, 190-191. Wilhelms förebråelser af Konung Erik 27. Erik upbraids Vilhjálmm roundly for his deception, whereupon the latter offers to bring back Hrólf's head before he is to have final possession of Gyða, and sets out armed and mounted.

XXIII. 298-302, 191-194. Dvergen Møndul kommer till Thorgrim Jarl 28, Møndul och Björn rådgifvare 29. Meanwhile, in Denmark, Þorgnýr, on one of his journeys, meets the dwarf Møndull whom he takes into his service and with whom he becomes very intimate. Björn warns Þorgnýr against giving too much attention to Møndull and thereby neglecting his duties as a ruler. One day, when Ingibjörg, Björn's wife, is at home alone, Møndull visits her and speaks slightly of her husband. In resentment, Ingibjörg strikes him. To avenge himself, Møndull makes it appear that Björn has stolen a valuable belt from Þorgnýr, a present to the latter from Møndull. Seven nights are granted to Björn within which to prove his innocence.

XXIV. 302-306, 194-197. Rolf förlorar sina fötter 30. Hrólf and Ingigerð, riding away from Garðaríki, one day notice a man riding after them quickly; he turns out to be Vilhjálmm, who falls down on his knees before Hrólf, saying he has been treated badly by the king, and imploring Hrólf's

pardon. Ingigerð does not approve of sparing Vilhjálmm's life. But Hrólfr does spare him, in spite of Dulcival's displeasure, evinced by a desire to bite Vilhjálmm. At night, Hrólfr and Ingigerð lie in bed with a naked sword between them. Vilhjálmm pricks Hrólfr with a sleep thorn, which remains sticking in the flesh. In the morning, Vilhjálmm tries to saddle Dulcival, who resists, and Ingigerð in vain tries to waken Hrólfr. Vilhjálmm cuts off Hrólfr's feet and compels Ingigerð to accompany him to Jarl Þorgnýr, as he has no mind to go back to Garðaríki. Vilhjálmm cannot mount Dulcival, nor will the latter permit him to approach Hrólfr. When they reach Þorgnýr's country, he greets them cordially, and Vilhjálmm gives him a false account of Hrólfr's doings, saying that Hrólfr has been killed at Erik's command. He also pretends to have fought on Hrólfr's side with the object of bringing Ingigerð home to Þorgnýr, and now demands Þorgnýr's sister Þóra as his bride. On the recommendation of Ingigerð, their wedding is postponed for a month. Vilhjálmm's objection to this arrangement stirs up ill feeling between him and Stefner. Ingigerð preserves Hrólfr's feet in herbs that prevent them from dying.

XXV. 306-310, 197-200. Rolf återfår sina fötter 31. Dulcival, by rolling Hrólfr over on the ground, causes the sleep thorn to drop out and Hrólfr wakes and notices that his feet are gone. He applies a gem to stop the pain and crawls onto the back of Dulcival, who lies down for the purpose, and rides him to Björn's house. Here he leaves him outside and goes in and settles down in a chair in a dark corner. He sees Björn's wife, blue and swollen, come in and light a fire, and then Mǫndull leads in Björn, bound hand and foot, and kisses Ingibjörg. Thereupon Björn upbraids him, saying that Hrólfr would not permit such indignities to be heaped on his friend if he were here. Mǫndull assures Björn that Hrólfr is dead, and that his feet are severed from his body. Hrólfr leaps from his chair, bears Mǫndull to the ground and cries out: "Know that Hrólfr's hands still live, though his feet be gone!" Mǫndull begs for mercy, offering to cure Ingibjörg's illness, and to put on Hrólfr's feet again. The former he does by giving her a potion of forgetfulness and applying a salve to her blue skin.

Her love for Mǫndull vanishes at once. Then he goes out and returns with a large box of salve and Hrólfr's feet, which he puts in place after applying the salve. Then he sets Hrólfr near the fire to bake his legs for three days, after which they are as supple as ever. Mǫndull promises to help Hrólfr in case he should go to Garðaríki.

XXVI. 310-312, 200-201. Rolfs och Björns ankomst till Jarlen 32. Although Björn is afraid to accompany Hrólfr to Þorgnýr next morning, Hrólfr reassures him and they appear together at the table, where Hrólfr at first is not recognized. But Björn is recognized at once, and one man throws a huge ox-bone at him. This Hrólfr seizes in its flight and hurls back, piercing the assailant's breast and pinning him to the wall. Then he makes himself known to Stefner. When he learns that Vilhjálfr is present, he suggests to him that he give an account of his life, as he will probably not live to enjoy it much longer.

XXVII. 312-315, 201-204. Wilhelms lefnadshändelser 33, Wilhelm Svekfúlls ändalykt 34, Tilrustning för tåget till Gardaríki 35. Vilhjálfr relates how, after a quarrel with his own father he burnt down the house with all its occupants. After living on the same spot for a while, he was one day visited by a man calling himself Grímr, whom he now believes to have been Grímr aegir, who offered him strength and fame if he would set out and kill Hrólfr, then on his way to Garðaríki. Then he was to marry Ingigerð. And he confesses that it was his intention to carry out these suggestions. He closes his account with a plea for mercy; then his fate is decided and he is hanged. Hrólfr then tells his tale, which gains him the respect of all present. Ingigerð, although glad to see him again, suggests that they all sail to Garðaríki and avenge her father on all his enemies. Until this be done she cannot marry. The marriage is to take place on the return of Hrólfr and Stefner, who are placed in charge of the army and of the fleet that is to convey them to Garðaríki.

XXVIII. 315-319, 204-207. Rolfs seglats till Gardaríki 36, Mǫnduls Försigtighet 37. On Mǫndull's advice the one hundred ships of their fleet are fastened together, and Hrólfr

is placed in the first ship, as he is the possessor of *alfkonunaut*. As soon as a favorable wind arises, they set sail, Mǫndull sitting in the stern of the last ship. Some of the men think Mǫndull a coward who is afraid to stay with Hrólf and help defend him; so they loosen their ship and attempt to advance to Hrólf's aid, but they are driven back by a hostile wind and then swamped by a huge whale, thus losing all on board. They sail into the mouth of the Dýna and obtain more recruits. At Mǫndull's command they pitch their tents end to end, and he covers all the tents with a black tent-cloth of silk. Thus they are secure against the awful storm which rages for three nights against their tents, except one man, who is killed. According to Mǫndull it was Grímr aegir who appeared as a whale and wrecked their ship, but he was not able to advance to the other ships on account of the "kefli"² that Mǫndull kept trailing out behind the last ship. Mǫndull, Hrólf and Stefner go out to find the twelve men who, as Mǫndull declares, were sent to prepare a *seið* against Hrólf and Stefner. They find them and Mǫndull causes the *seið* to work against its originators, as a result of which the latter all perish. It is agreed that Mǫndull is not to take part in the approaching battle, as he is not much of a warrior.

XXIX. 319-321, 207-208. Thorgrim Jarls fall 38. Tryggvi, knowing that Jótland is now defenceless, attacks the country, which is in charge of Þorgnýr and his councillor Björn. The former is killed, to the great sorrow of Þóra and of all the people, but the country is delivered and Tryggvi killed by an army which has landed from three unknown ships, and which is led by two cowled warriors, who depart without waiting for thanks.

XXX. 321-326, 208-212. Slaget första dagen i Gardaríke 39, Sturlögs ankomst till Gardaríke 40. This chapter gives an account of the first day of the battle, at the end of which Sturlaug starfsama and his son Erik, Hrólf's father and brother, arrive to help him.³

² See CV s. v. *kefli*.

³ Chapters XXX, XXXI, and XXXIII are not given more closely, as they are full of incidents of the battle that have little bearing on the narrative proper.

XXXI. 326-333, 212-217. Andra dagens krigshändelser 41, Sturlög och Thord 42, Slagets slut 43. The second day of the battle is described in this chapter, in the course of which Sturlaug and Hrólfr's brother Erik are killed.

XXXII. 333-337, 217-220. Rolfs andra resa til Reggviðs hög 43, Rolf och Stefner 44, Sista slagets tillrustningar 45. On the eve of the third day's battle, Hrólfr, whose army has dwindled to two thousand men, takes a trip to Hreggvið's mound to get advice. He is told by Hreggvið that Stefner also desires the hand of Hreggvið's daughter, but that Hreggvið prefers to have Hrólfr as a son-in-law. Hrólfr is presented with two vessels, from one of which he and Stefner are to drink together. Its contents will have the twofold effect of supplying both of them with new strength for the continuation of the fight, and of weakening Stefner's attachment for Ingigerð, so that he will favor her marriage to Hrólfr. The other vessel is for the army, and is to give them fresh vigor too. The effect of these two potions is as Hreggvið has predicted. Preparations are made for the next day's fight.

XXXIII.⁴ 337-346, 220-227. Möndul Dverg och Grim Äger 46, De tvänne förklädde kämparnes strid 47, Konung Eriks fall 48, Rolfs och Grim Ägers kamp 49, Krigets slut 50. The odds in Erik's favor are six to one, as his army is six times as numerous as Hrólfr's. Grim's discharge of a suffocating vapor against the opposing army redounds to his own disadvantage when Möndull, by means of a bellows, blows it back into the faces of Erik's men, causing great confusion among them. The two cowled men⁵ come from the sea to help them. One of them kills Erik, but the other is slain by Grim. Brynjólf is killed by Stefner, while Grímr aegir succumbs to the combined efforts of Möndull and Hrólfr, who as a consequence, win the battle.

XXXIV. 346-349, 227-229. Rolfs intåg i borgen 51, De slagnes högsättning 52, Rolfs och Stefners hemkomst 53. The cowled man discloses himself to be Hrafn and says that his companion, killed in battle, was Kráki. The inhabitants of

⁴ The longest chapter of the saga, and full of episodes of the battle that do not contribute to the progress of the narrative.

⁵ Grímumenn, see XXIX above.

the "borg" (Aldeigjuborg) are delighted to hear that Hrólf wishes to restore to Ingigerð her dominions, and they straightway put themselves under his rule. Three mounds are raised: in one is placed Sturlaug starfsama, together with Kráki and the best leaders of the invading army; in another, Erik, Brynjólf, Þórð, and their chief men; in the last, Grímr aegir and all the common men that have fallen. Hrólf and Stefner with the rest of the army return to Denmark, landing at Árós. Ingigerð thanks them for their work.

XXXV. 349-351, 229-230. Rafns händelser 54. Hrafn reveals himself in his true character as Harald, son of a king in England, Jatgeir by name. Hrafn has been driven out of the country by the usurper Heinrek, who now rules. He asks Hrólf and Stefner to help him regain his father's kingdom. This help is gladly given, and a fleet of thirty ships sails to England, landing at Lindisey.

XXXVI. 351-357, 230-235. Konung Erik i England 55, Striden i England 56, Harald återfår sin faders rike 57. In spite of the trickery of Heinrek and his adviser Annis, who cause a second army to fall upon Hrólf's Danes after his forces have been made tired by the fight according to the rules mutually agreed upon, Hrólf and Harald are victorious and Heinrek is killed. Harald regains his father's kingdom and is very grateful to his allies.

XXXVII.* 357-361, 235-238. Fosterbrödernas Bröllop 58, Beskrifning öfver England och Danmark 59. Stefner falls in love with Harald's sister Alfild, and with Hrólf they all sail back to Denmark on a commercial venture. There a triple wedding takes place: Hrólf is married to Ingigerð, Stefner to Alfild, and Harald to Þóra, daughter of Jarl Þorgnýr. Stefner becomes Jarl of Jótland.

XXXVIII. 362-364, 238-239. Rolfs ättlingar 60. Hrólf and Ingigerð go to Hólmgarð and the former is made king of all Garðaríki. The names of his children are given, and some account is added to the later history of Stefner and Harald. With a long plea for credence the saga ends.

* Chapter XXXVII is a compendium of geographical and cultural information that does not permit of condensation. Both its geographical and cultural phases will be found treated, however, on pp. 72 and 42.

CHAPTER IV

SOURCES AND MATERIALS OF THE GONGU-HRÓLF'S SAGA

It will not be difficult to ascertain those elements of GHS that it possesses in common with other *Fas.*, and which have been described, in their general outlines, in Chapter I. It will be much more difficult, on the other hand, to point out actual borrowings from other sagas, or from the continental romances of chivalry that were imitated so assiduously in the north. The borrowings, however, that lend themselves most readily to distinct investigation, are the crude cases in which a passage has been taken over bodily or has been changed but slightly. Of this we have but one good example in GHS: it is the excerpt on the Geography of Denmark that is treated in our Chapter VI, and which is given in Appendix II in parallel columns with the original from which it is taken. As this falls more specifically under the question as to the origin of the author's geographical knowledge, no further mention of this interesting passage will be made here, beyond the statement that the excerpt differs from a number of other passages about to be considered, in that the author, in connection with it, never once takes the trouble to mention the source of his information, which in this case, of course, is the *Knytlingasaga*.

We shall first take up the instances in which, to show his erudition or to gain credence, the author mentions the titles of real sagas, which he alleges to be authorities for statements made by him. It is unfortunate that even in these simple cases of borrowing, the Mss should disagree as to the saga from which the information is derived, or that names once reported to exist in some Ms or other are never met with in any extant Ms. Yet such is the state of the case. Suffice it to say, before the individual references are considered, that the various Mss mention either by name, or implicitly (and what is meant by "implicitly" will appear presently), the following

nine sagas: *Ólafssaga Tryggvasonar*, *Alexanderssaga*, *Yngvars-saga víðforla*, *Sturlaugssaga starfsama*, *Hrómundarsaga Greips-sonar*, *Niflungasaga*, *Trójumannasaga*, *Heðinssaga ok Högna*, and *Hjaðningasaga*.

The *Yngvarssaga víðforla* is not referred to by name in Chapter I of GHS, but Yngvarr is mentioned and a reference is made to "his saga". Whether the author of GHS knew *Yngvarssaga víðforla* very closely, or not, cannot be ascertained from any information given in his work. It is evident that he takes but one element from *YngSV*, namely, the river up which Yngvarr sailed, and even that element is treated with a degree of complacent certainty that may be unwarrantable, since, in *YngSV*, the name Dýna is never given to the river in question.¹

Sturlaugssaga starfsama is the saga of Gøngu-Hrólf's father. It is probable that the author of GHS had an intimate acquaintance with this saga. This may be inferred not merely from casual reference, but from the fact that Hrólf throughout is known as the son of Sturlaug, and also from the fact that GHS attempts on one occasion to explain a divergence between GHS and *SturlSS*. The malicious Atli Ótryggsson (GHS VI, see Synopsis), recognizes Hrólf to be "son Sturlaugs hins starfsama" (although it is rather interesting to observe that *SturlSS* apparently takes no notice of Atli Ótryggsson, in spite of the latter's grievance against Sturlaug,—at least, *SturlSS* never mentions Atli by name). As even the last sentence in GHS begins with: "Nú verður hér endir á þessu máli frá Hrólf Sturlaugssyni ok hans afreksverkum", we may assume that the relationship between Hrólf and Sturlaug remained present in the author's mind. When the author of GHS tells that Sturlaug is killed in battle (GHS XXXI), he admits that this account does not agree with that of *Sturlaugssaga*, "at hann hafði orðit sótt dauðr heima í Hringaríki, ok vaeri þar heygðr", but no attempt is made to determine which version is the correct one: "vitum vér eigi, hvart sannara er".² The fact that *SturlSS* does not definitely assert that Sturlaug died a natural

¹ For a complete discussion of this point, as well as of all other geographical questions, see Chapter VI of this book.

² Both quotations are from GHS XXXI.

death, cannot be taken as a proof that the author of GHS did not know *SturlSS*; it might on the other hand be regarded as a proof that our author was so well acquainted with *SturlSS* as to have drawn the implication of Sturlaug's peaceful death from the earlier saga's statement that Sturlaug's sons ruled after him. Possibly the manner of the latter's end is not dwelt on in *SturlSS* because it accords but poorly with the material of a heroic saga. Other contradictions between GHS and *SturlSS*, that may be noted, but which at most prove that a copy of *SturlSS* was not constantly referred to during the composition of GHS, are: Sturlaug is made king of Hringaríki in Norway in GHS, whereas in the original work he had been left as king of Sweden (GHS IV, *SturlSS* XXVIII); also, GHS refers to the bison's horn as having been obtained by Sturlaug in Ireland (GHS IV), the sole reference to that country in GHS, while throughout *SturlSS* the country in which Sturlaug obtained the horn is understood to be Bjarmaland.

Two of the nine sagas mentioned above as being either directly or indirectly claimed by GHS as sources, are given by two authorities as occurring in one and the same MS. Thus Liljegren adds, after the word "Índíalandi", in his Swedish translation of an original that corresponds to Chap. XVII of our saga: "såsom i Niflungasaga berättas".³

The Ms from which Liljegren translated was probably one of those in the library at Stockholm,⁴ for he distinctly expresses his regret, in the preface to his first volume, that circumstances have prevented him from visiting foreign libraries to use the Mss he knew they possessed; at any rate there is no such reference in either of the printed editions of *Fas*. Another saga is mentioned in the same passage in GHS XVII, but only in one Ms, and that apparently an inaccessible one. The saga is not extant, but to judge by the following passage from Mueller's *Sagabibliothek*,⁵ it would appear to be a *Hjáðningasaga*: "Torfaeus føier til, (Series 483) at Sagaen anfører som Hiemmel herfor Hiadningernes Saga. Omendskiøndt nu dette

³ Liljegren, I, 76; see Bibliography for Liljegren's translation.

⁴ See list of Stockholm Mss., p. 13.

⁵ *Sagabibliothek* II, p. 578.

ikke findes i vore Haandskrifter of Gange Hrolfs Saga (Suhms kritiske Hist. 2 D. S. 202), maae det have staaet i Haandskriftet, den saa nøiagtige Torfaeus brugte." It is possible, after all, that a *Hjaðningasaga* may have existed at one time,, and perhaps even under that name, although a version extant at the present time of the great Hjaðninga fight is referred to in the same passage in GHS XVII.⁶ This version is now known as *Heðinssaga ok Hoggna*, and is printed in *Fas.* as *Sqrla pátttr.*

A few references to Heðinsey are given in the alphabetical list of geographical names (App. III); Chapter VI of *Sqrla-pátttr* (*Fas.* vol. I) has nothing to say concerning any island; so the wording of the passage cited s. v. Heðinsey seems to indicate that the author does not derive his information from another saga, but has it from hearsay. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that the Indíaland of GHS must correspond to the Serkland of *Sqrla pátttr.*⁷ The reference to "meistari Galterus i Alexandri sögu eðr Umeris skald i Trójumanna sögu," found (with this wording) in only one version,⁸ is evidently an interpolation, and proves nothing more than that the interpolator knew the names of those two works.⁹

References to *Ólafssaga Tryggvasonar* are found in only one Ms, termed "C" by Rafn in his classification in *Fas.* III, *Introduction*, and there they occur in a passage which is intended to be introductory, and which in Rafn's edition is printed as a long foot-note; but in the 1889 edition of Ásmundarson it appears in small type as a sort of preface (III, 145-6).

Of the nine sagas cited in GHS, there now remains for consideration only the *Hrómundarsaga Greipssonar*. The reference to this saga occurs almost at the end of GHS, in the last chapter (XXXVIII). As in the case of the *Yngvarssaga víðforla* in Chapter I, the *Hrómundarsaga* is also not explicitly mentioned by name. But only this saga can be meant by the words: "Hrómundr Greipsson veitti Óláfi, sem segir i sögu

⁶ For the text of this passage, see App. III of this work, s. v. Heðinsey.

⁷ See also the passage from Keyser referred to in App. III.

⁸ *Fas.* 1830, III, p. 310, and notes.

⁹ GHS XXV.

hans." There is little doubt that the author of GHS must have known a version of the *Hrómundarsaga Greipssonar* that is substantially identical with that given in *Fas.*, vol. II (1886, pp. 325-336). The few persons named in GHS XXXVIII occur also in *Hróm. S. Greip.* in the same relations to each other and with the same names as in GHS.

So much for the nine sagas either explicitly or implicitly referred to in GHS. To these we add the *Knytlingasaga*, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, as the source of the information contained in GHS concerning England and Denmark. These ten sagas are the only ones of which we may assert that either the original author of GHS, or some later interpolator, had direct information. Correspondences, however, may be noted from time to time, and their discussion will be taken up in the remainder of this chapter, which treats of sources not found in saga literature.

The most that can be said for any of the preceding attempts to assign the material to possible or probable sources, is that it explains, or offers to explain, the origin of some single passage or trait in GHS. Far more interesting and important is a classification of the material of the saga with regard to the attitude assumed towards it by the compiler or author, in other words, with respect to the literary objects pursued in this style of composition. Before considering the subject of character-delineation and social conditions as found in GHS, a study in outline of the popular state of mind that was responsible for the production of the *Fas.* may be desirable.

In the first chapter (on the general characteristics of the *Fas.*) it was stated that there probably existed from the earliest days of Old Norse Literature, and parallel with the more conventional family sagas, a kind of saga in which the imagination as such came into its own; in which a dry rehearsal of genealogical feats of prowess, often rendered more difficult of comprehension by over-emphasis of purely local laws and customs, gave way to a simpler outline of story, in which the accidents of time and place were as far as possible eliminated, and in which were presented events of elemental character in typical forms, lacking for the most part the high degree of individuali-

zation that seems to be attainable in literature only by calling attention to special idiosyncrasies. That the latter type of saga must be more comprehensible to future ages, goes without saying. But the absence of intimate personal touches, which results from the effort to write in the grand style, is bound to be felt as a defect. The reader of GHS cannot help but feel that he has been dwelling in an exceedingly rarified atmosphere, and the general impression gained from the following analysis of contents will probably be,¹⁰ that the characters and their deeds have but little individuality.¹¹ First we shall attempt to show that this negative impression is in part due to one of the compiler's literary intentions that makes itself felt only in a negative manner.

The absolute omission of any reference to Christianity is no doubt partly responsible for the impression GHS gives us of hanging in the air, of having no solid ground to stand on. And it must be plain to the reader why the author has made no such reference. The remoteness of the story in time, its prehistoric glamor, is of course vastly enhanced by such omission. But if, in place of Christianity, some other system of ethical conduct, with its outward manifestations, were in evidence, the story would have gained much in tangibility. The difficulty about GHS is that it is shot through and through with Christian practices, but that there is no peg on which to hang them, just as it is likewise true that the story is full of superstitious remnants of the pagan past for which no unifying rule of conduct is suggested. There can likewise be little doubt that the omission of all Christian elements is intentional, when we remember how carefully the passage concerning the geography of Denmark is excerpted and rearranged,¹² and yet, in striking contrast to the corresponding chapter of *Knytlinga-saga*, all information concerning the number of churches is carefully withheld.

¹⁰ Reference to Chapter III (Synopsis) will assist in understanding the analysis.

¹¹ But this is a characteristic of genuinely heroic as well as of pseudo-heroic writings; see Vald. Vedel, *Heldenleben (Mittelalterliche Kulturideale, I)*, Leipzig 1910, p. 42 et passim.

¹² See p. 74 f.

The conventional character types are preserved with but little deviation in the *Fas.*, and in this respect GHS offers no exception. As in the other *Fas.* (and this is a trait quite distinct from the more historical family sagas), the lower classes of society do not exist in the consciousness of the writer at all. This is a further fruitful cause of the atmosphere of unreality that pervades all these sagas. These low-born wretches exist mainly for the purpose of furnishing to the hero and his fellow fighters, an opportunity for the display of prowess, and when a large number of them have been killed by a strong warrior in a short time, their mission is ended and no further notice is taken of them. Thus Hrólfr kills thirty of them while cutting his way through the mêlée to King Erik (XVIII). In short, the story is not concerned with them, but with the noble characters to whom we shall now turn our attention.

The king in GHS is not the chief character of the saga. But a legitimate king is a formidable and honorable personage. We have only to read the description of Hreggvið to be convinced of this. He is tall, strong, far-sighted, wise, a good friend and a fierce enemy; he has lost by death a most excellent wife, and he has the fairest daughter in all the world. An active past, spent in foreign parts, is behind him, and now he has settled down to spend the rest of his days in peace. On his journeys he has acquired magic weapons and a wonderful horse. But he has not always been a man of peace and his present strong position may be due in part to profitable marauding expeditions undertaken in his early days. In fact Chapter I tells us that "in his youth he harried much and subdued the lands about the Dýna." He is a type of the successful retired sea king so common in the *Fas.* and no doubt taken from life. How different is the type in its earlier stage as depicted in the person of Erik, with whom we become acquainted in the next chapter (GHS II)! Erik is still a sjákonungr, whose fleets are on the sea both summer and winter; he harries all lands; a great, strong fighter, an active leader of gigantic men, who are dangerous adversaries in any quarrel, and who know something about witchcraft (II). The

location of his home, being not so permanent as Hreggvið's, is not directly given: we learn merely that his ancestors lived in Gestrekaland, "which is subject to the king of Sweden." His method of warfare, though very efficient against the army of Hreggvið, is irregular and guerilla-like. He gives no warning of his coming and the first we hear of him is when Hreggvið's subjects come and tell their king that Erik's men are killing the inhabitants, burning their houses and stealing their cattle. (III: "drepa menn, brenna bygðir, enn raena fé," a stereotyped series of phrases of rather frequent occurrence, as will be seen below). But even the well-established rulers, when they are off on a campaign, have little consideration for the subjects of the country that is being attacked. So Jarl Þorgnýr's men, on their expedition to Garðaríki, sail up the Dýna and devastate both shores, perhaps in order to obtain food, although the main result seems to have been the obtaining of new recruits. (Herjuðu þar á bæði borð, brendu bygðir, enn raentu fé, XXVIII.) Possibly their procedure may have been more humane than that of the professional sea kings, for in connection with this incident no mention is made of their having murdered the inhabitants, which seems to have been the constant practice of the lesser adventurers. Thus the pirate and berserker Tryggvi and his foster brother Vazi, when they fall upon Denmark, burn houses, kill men, and steal all the cattle they can lay hands on (VIII: raendu bygðir, enn drapu menn, ok raendu fé öllu, er þeir náðu).

But there is honor even among the sea kings, and they are capable of keeping promises that are binding on their conduct during long periods of time. At least Ingigerð, Hreggvið's daughter, after her father is killed and the victorious Erik has decided to become a land-king in Garðaríki, his newly won possession, manages to convince Erik by means not over subtle, that it is his duty to be magnanimous and to keep his word to a girl. And indeed, Erik leaves her unmolested for years. Whether this is because he loves her, is not stated; in fact, after Erik's first declaration of affection for Ingigerð, we hear no more of his love for her. She tells him that no man may rightly be called a king if he breaks his word to a maiden. The

sea king, in the same chapter (III), admits the correctness of her view: "Verði sa níðingr," he says, "er eigi heldr orð sin við yðr, ok kjós á sömu stundu, enn ek skal veita."

A strong sense of morality finds its expression in the words of the princess on this occasion, for she ends her declaration with the words: "fyrr enn ek gangi nauðig með nokkurum manni, þá skal ek fyrr heldr veita mér bráðan bana; ok nýtr mín þá enginn." Of course it is not certain whether her words are inspired by aversion to Erik or not. They might also be regarded as a result of Christian influence.

The princess herself is described at the beginning of the story (I) as the most beautiful of women, but beyond the statement that her hair is long and of golden color, nothing is said of her personal appearance. "Hun hafði hár svá mikít at vel mátti hylja allan hennar líkama, ok svá fagrt sem gull eðr halmr" (I). The beauty of her hair must have been very great, or else Jarl Þorgnýr's imagination is easily excited, for it will be remembered that after he has seen but a single strand of her hair, wrapped in a silken cloth and dropped by a swallow (X), he vows that he will have her as his wife or die in the attempt. That Ingigerð's beauty is made so little of by GHS is in accord with the entire absence in this saga of the element of constant epithet. Never do we hear of the "beautiful Ingigerð," or of the "brave Hrólf," or of the "crafty Møndull," or the "treacherous Vilhjálmr." Yet all these persons have the characteristics implied by those adjectives, although a cursory reading of the saga may not leave a clear impression of the fact.

Göngu-Hrólf, the hero of the saga, is, as far as externals are concerned, rather definitely described; even his mental characteristics are occasionally referred to although it would be manifestly unfair to expect any very refined psychological probing in a work like GHS. After telling about his father and brothers, the saga (IV) goes on: "Hrólfur Sturlaugsson var manna mestr, bæði at digrð ok hæð, ok svá þungr, at engi hestr fekk borit hann allan dag, ok var hann því jafnan at göngu; manna var hann vænstr at yfirlit; ekki var hann sið-blendinn við alþýðu. . . ."

This hero, as characterized by the above words, is at least somewhat differentiated from the hero who is all heroism and goodness and kindness; that he was not anxious to associate with the common people is hardly Christian. While the comparison must in other respects appear ridiculous, still Hrólf's self-concentration and physical awkwardness remind us of two of the qualities of no less a character than Shakspeare's Hamlet himself.

Hrólf's relations with his father are exceedingly unconventional (IV), and the conversation in which the latter persuades Hrólf to get married and receives in return an extremely unfilial reproach for his lack of generosity, might be taken as a very good example of mutual recrimination of an unusually realistic type (IV). On the other hand, Hrólf is not only the surly and rebellious hero, but he also has moments of kindness and a feeling of solidarity with the other persons of his own rank. He recognizes in Hrafn a person of noble birth and asks jarl Þorgnýr to pardon the offenses of that nobleman on the ground of his manifest excellent origin: "Sér ek at þú hefir tígn manns augu, ok biðr ek yðr herra, at þér gefið þessum monnum grið, því at ek veit, at þeir eru mikillar aettar" (IX).

In spite of his comparatively surly disposition, Hrólf stands out nobly by comparison with some of those he meets. The contemptible Vilhjálmm is beneath notice, but the episode, brief as it is, with the pirate Jólgeir, whom Hrólf serves for a while (VI), shows that Hrólf, owing to his liberality with money is able to gain the confidence of those who happen to be his companions, so much so, that after the death of Jólgeir, they make Hrólf their chieftain. A peculiarly unchivalrous characteristic of the pirate Jólgeir, and one that receives special notice in GHS, is, that he prefers to attack civilians and merchants rather than warriors: "Jólgeirr fór illa með herskap sínum, ok raenti mest búþegna ok kaupmenn, enn herjuðu oftast um Kúrlond ok fengu oft fjár" (VI).

It is chiefly in connection with the supernatural element of this story that we shall come in contact with motives that admit of comparison with other *Fas.* and with folk-lore material.

Throughout GHS the practice of sorcery is represented as common and apparently legitimate. When something unusually incredible is narrated, the author hastens to reassure the reader: "Nú þótt monnum þyki slíkir hlutir ótrulegir, þá verður þat þó hverr at segja, er hann hefir sét eða heyrt" (XXV). It is the fear of sorcery that enables Erik to retain possession of Garðaríki, once he has secured it: "var hann jafnan í kyrrsaeti, síðan hann kom í Garðaríki, því flestir voru ófusir at herja á hans ríki, sakir kappá þeirra er með honum voru, einkanlega sakir galdrs ok fjölkyngis Gríms aegis" (XIV).

Of all the warriors in the story who are acquainted with magic, and they are many, the most accomplished is Grímr aegir, whose nickname is probably derived from *aegir*, "the sea", because of the fact that his mother was a sea-monster. At least, some men believed this because he was able to walk both on land and on water. Moreover, we are told that he ate raw meat and drank the blood both of men and beasts. Not the least of his accomplishments was his ability to assume any shape he pleased, and with such rapidity that the change could hardly be followed (II). Grímr aegir is the only man (if this term may be used of so dreadful a creature) who succeeds at any time in the course of the story in dulling the edge of Hreggviðarnaut by magic, which the sorcerer Annis later (XXXVI) fails to do, although he does succeed in dulling all the other swords in the Danish army: "Danir urðu þess brátt varir, at þeim bitu eigi vopnin, þótt þeir hjuggu þrátt til, sem eigi voru hlífar fyrir, ok var líka sem þeir berði með lurkum, utan Hreggviðarnautr beit, sem í vatn brygði; hafði þat ok enginn deyft getað utan Grímr aegir, svá at menn vissi til þess daemi. . . ." But the power to dull the edges of swords did not belong to Grím alone; we are told that the brothers Sörkver and Brynjólf, also in the service of Erik, likewise possessed this gift. "Miklir ok sterkir voru þeir ok illir viðreignar, fjölkunnugir ok galdrafullir, at þeir deyfðu eggjar í orrostum" (II). Of these two brothers, Sörkver, who was physically the stronger, appears to have been the better wizard, for he is mentioned several times as the asso-

ciate of Grím in his villainous but successful undertakings. So when Hrólf, on the occasion of his first visit to Hreggvið's mound, passes through an awful storm on the way, a storm so violent that it uproots trees and throws them against him, he is assured apologetically by the ghost of Hreggvið that it is not Hreggvið who has raised this storm against him and all the suitors of Ingigerð who have preceded him, but that the real malefactors are Sorkver and Grímr aegir. It is clear from this that the sorcerer has some power over the forces of nature, and that this power is possessed by Sorkver as well as by Grímr aegir.

Grím is even able to endow others with powers previously not possessed by them. It is he who encourages the weak and insignificant Vilhjálmm (XXVII) to go off in search of Hrólf and to kill him, and thus to win the hand of Ingigerð for himself. Grím promises to magnify Vilhjálmm's strength, and according to the latter's own confession, hands Vilhjálmm a drink that immediately makes a strong man of him: "gaf mér einn drykk; þótti mér þá hlaupa afl í mik"; XXVII. Just why Grím should take this exceedingly roundabout method of getting at Hrólf does not appear, nor is it at all plain why he should desire Vilhjálmm to obtain the hand of Ingigerð. Perhaps the only explanation possible of this peculiar conduct on the part of Grím is that he is naturally a wicked creature, who takes delight in wicked things; of course, it might be due to a strong fellow-feeling between the wicked Grím and the equally wicked, though less capable Vilhjálmm.

Magic potions administered for various purposes are naturally a very effective element in any story dealing with the supernatural, and we are therefore not surprised to find that the potion that Grím gives Vilhjálmm is only one of many occurring in GHS. There is the inevitable love-potion of medieval legend as well as the draught that gives strength for the fight. When Møndull offers the sattarbikar (peace-cup, loving-cup) to Bjørn's wife Ingibjörg, the latter indignantly strikes the back of his hand from underneath, so as to force the cup and its contents into his face: "enn hun sló hendinni neðan undir kerit, ok upp í andlit honum" (XXIII). By putting some-

thing into the drink of Jarl Þorgnýr's associates, Mǫndull takes away from them all love for Björn, and they think he must be guilty of the theft with which he is charged by Mǫndull: "Enn þegar hirðin hafði kent fyrsta rétt ok drukkit fyrsta bikar, var ǫllum horfin vinátta við Björn, ok þótti þá ǫllum sem hann mundi sannr at sök", XXIII. Whether the peculiar disease that Ingibjörg suffered from during the preceding winter, was also brought on by potions trickily administered by Mǫndull, is not stated. It is however certain that the trouble is caused by Mǫndull, but the means he uses in this particular case are not described: "Ingibjörg kona Bjarnar tók krankleika nokkurn undarlegan um vetrinn; hun gerðist ǫll blá sem hel, enn sinnaði um ǫngvann hlut, sem hun vaeri vitstola;" XXIII.

When Mǫndull desires to make good again the harm he has done Björn, he gives Ingibjörg "minnisveig at drekka", which causes all her love for Mǫndull to disappear: "ok týndi allri ást við dverginn" (XXV). A more elaborate example of a potion given to increase the strength and success of combatants is that of the two vessels handed to Hrólfr by Hreggvið on the occasion of Hrólfr's last visit to the mound of Hreggvið. The larger of the two vessels is for the entire army; the other, smaller one, is only for Hrólfr and Stefner, and in the case of the latter two there is to be the additional effect that there will never be discord between them. Accordingly, when the men have partaken of the wonderful beverage, they forget about their wounds: those that have been most anxious to flee, now become most eager for the fray, even egging on the others: "enn þegar hverr hafði af drukkit, kendi enginn sinna sára, þótt áðr vaeri ófaerir, þegar sezt hafði með þeim; eggjuðu þeir mest, at berjast skyldi, er áðr vildu harðast flyja." In the same chapter Mǫndull speaks of this drink as "ǫl," but this conveys no real information as to its nature (CV s. v. *öl*).

The character of Mǫndull is very simple in outline, and perhaps for that very reason the motives for his conduct are so difficult to understand. At first Mǫndull intrigues against the life and family of Björn, councillor of Þorgnýr (XXIII). But his schemes are frustrated by the timely appearance of Hrólfr (XXV). He immediately makes common cause with Hrólfr,

going so far as to take part in the great campaign against Garðaríki, and to assist Þorgnýr's army by magic against the monsters of the sea (XXVIII) as well as against the "seið"¹³ that was being prepared for Hrólfr and Stefner (XXVIII). That the men who are to operate this seið should have been brought from Ermland, ought not to cause surprise.¹⁴ In the final battle fought in Garðaríki, Mōndull, by a number of ingenious feats and suggestions, does much to turn the tide of victory in favor of the Danes and their allies.

Then, having rendered great service to Hrólfr and Stefner, Mōndull practically forfeits all claim to their gratitude by disappearing entirely. Moreover he is suspected of having run off with Gyða, the sister of the slain king Erik: "Gyða, systir Eireks konungs, hvarf burt ór Garðaríki, ok var þat geta sumra manna, at Mōndull mundi hafa haft hana burt með sér" (XXXIV). On the whole it would seem that Mōndull plays the role of a *deus ex machina*, without whose aid some very striking transformations could scarcely have been represented as plausible, but who is discarded by the saga-writer as soon as this purpose is attained.

Perhaps the most interesting feat performed by Mōndull is that of making severed limbs grow on again. The feet (probably the legs) of Hrólfr have been cut off by the treacherous Vilhjálm (XXIV), and are preserved by Ingigerð in life-giving herbs, that they may not die: "þat er sōgn manna, at Ingigerðr konungsdóttir hafi geymt fōtrna ok borit hjá þau grōs, er ekki mátti deyja." Later (XXV), Mōndull procures the severed members, presumably from Ingigerð, smears the joint with ointments, and orders Hrólfr to bake the stumps at the fire. After doing this that hero is able to rise and walk about and use his legs as if nothing had happened. Perhaps this belief in "life-grass", in which severed limbs could be preserved, was a wide-spread popular superstition. The same device occurs in *Egilssaga ok Asmundar*. Egil loses his hand and Arinnefja preserves it for him in herbs, and later she heals it on again. A still closer parallel is furnished by a popular tale recorded by Rittershaus in her *Neuisländische*

¹³ See CV s. v. seið.

¹⁴ See App. III s. v. Ermland.

Volksmärchen (p. 74). But the story of *Rosald and Geirald*, printed as No. LII of the same collection (pp. 219-223), in spite of its close resemblance in many respects to the story of the relations between Hrólf and Vilhjálmm in GHS, does not contain the motif of the severed and restored limbs.

Many practices referred to in GHS are commonplaces in *Fas.* literature. When an enemy attacks the land, or an army must be raised for any purpose, the king sends around an arrow that is the signal for "mobilization" (laetr hann herqr uppskera, III). The same custom is referred to in *Hjálmm. ok Olvis*—"skera upp herqr," VI. Some of the customs are of foreign origin and show an unmistakably continental influence that was exerted on GHS as well as on other *Fas.* Thus the remarkable list of medieval instruments that were used at the triple wedding described in GHS XXXVII is paralleled by a shorter but similar enumeration in *Hjálmm. ok Olv.*, VI, although here the instruments do not figure at a wedding: "Leikarar slogu hǫrpur, gígjur, simphon, psalterium ok allra handa hljóðfaeri." Add to this the foreign wines and foreign meats mentioned in GHS XXXVII, and it is evident that we are not in Scandinavian surroundings any longer, but rather in those of medieval continental Europe.¹⁵

¹⁵ A Middle English origin for this passage is also not impossible; it would be interesting if a specific continental or English source should turn up.

CHAPTER V

GONGU-HRÓLF AS AN HISTORICAL CHARACTER

We are in the fortunate position of being able to use the illustrious name of Thomas Carlyle as an introduction to a consideration of the purely historical Gøngu-Hrólf, who is quite distinct from the person who has been thus far occasionally referred to by that name. Anything savoring of Norse influence appealed very strongly to Thomas Carlyle, the apostle of German literature and of Germanic things in general, to the English people, and we are not surprised to read, in a chapter on Harald Haarfagr,¹ the following lines, written in Carlyle's whimsical but pregnant style: "Settlement of Iceland, we say, settlement of the Faroe Islands, and, by far the notablist of all, settlement of Normandy by Rolf the Ganger (A. D. 876?).

"Rolf, son of Rögnwald, was lord of three little islets far north, near the Fjord of Folden, called the Three Vigten Islands; but his chief means of living was that of sea-robbery, which, or at least Rolf's conduct in which, Harald did not approve of. In the court of Harald, sea-robbery was strictly forbidden as between Harald's own countries, but as against foreign countries it continued to be the one profession for a gentleman; thus, I read, Harald's own chief son, King Eric that afterwards was, had been at sea in such employments ever since his twelfth year. Rolf's crime, however, was that in coming home from one of these expeditions, his crew having fallen short of victual, Rolf landed with them on the shore of Norway, and, in his strait, drove in some cattle there (a crime by law), and proceeded to kill and eat; which, in a little while, he heard that King Harald was on foot to enquire into and punish, whereupon Rolf the Ganger speedily got into his ships again, got to the coast of France with his sea-robbers, got

¹ *The early Kings of Norway; also an Essay on the Portraits of John Knox*, N. Y. 1875.

infertment² by the poor king of France in the fruitful shaggy desert which is still known as Normandy,—land of the Northmen; and there, gradually felling the forest, banking the rivers, tilling the fields, became, during the next two centuries, Wilhelmus Conquestor, the man famous to England, and momentous at this day, not to England alone, but to all the speakers of the English tongue, now spread from side to side of the world in a wonderful degree. Tancred of Hauteville and his Italian Normans, though important, too, in Italy, are not worth naming in comparison. This is a feracious earth, and the grain of mustard seed will grow to a miraculous extent in some cases."

Carlyle could not have known, owing to the nature of his studies, to what a miraculous saga the mustard seed of a mere mention of the name "Göngu-Hrólf" had grown under the care of the author of GHS. It will be well, however, in view of the fact that the annals of those times are exceedingly complicated, not to anticipate.

The conquest of Normandy by Rolf, for so we had better call him now that we are no longer on Scandinavian soil, cannot be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. We must rather view it, as is suggested by Carlyle above, as one step in a historical sequence that culminates, although it does not end, with the conquest of England by William of Normandy in 1066. Much has been written, especially during the latter half of the nineteenth century, on the various expeditions undertaken by Scandinavians during the five centuries or more that preceded the Norman Conquest. Before we review briefly the Viking expeditions that precede Rolf's, and consider the scant details we have of Rolf's own activities, mention must be made of the sources from which our knowledge of this subject is derived. As is well known, the actual contemporary chronicles that have anything to say about Viking attacks, are in Latin, and were written either in England, Ireland or Scotland, or else in some part of the heterogeneous domain of Charles the Great.³ More will be said of these annals in the account of

² Sic for "infertment" (*Century Dictionary*).

³ This does not refer to the annals of Nestor concerning the Varangians, which are in Russian, and which will be dealt with in the Chapter on Geography.

the raids and settlements. Whatever has since been written on the Viking period, especially by historians of the nineteenth century, is based on a critical study of these contemporary annals as well as other documents; this is especially true of Gustav Storm's *Kritiske Bidrag til Vikingetidens Historie*, written chiefly as an attack on Steenstrup's *Indledning*,⁴ and containing, in spite of its rather negative and matter-of-fact attitude, some definite data in highly condensed form. Worsaae, in his *Danske Erobring af England og Normandiet*, reviews the whole course of events down to the Norman Conquest in an entertaining as well as critical manner, although his results frequently can be confronted with more convincing statements from Storm's book; Worsaae's history is especially complete with regard to the later history of the Danes in England, during the century preceding the Norman Conquest. Unfortunately the entire earlier part of the Scandinavian campaigns, more particularly the part dealing with Rolf, has not received the attention that has been devoted to one single century of this period by C. Francis Keary in his *Vikings in Western Christendom* (789-888).⁵ It is a careful study of the annals of all the nations concerned. Appended to it is a chronological table, containing an entry for nearly every year of the century, for which the preceding pages furnish the proof. The following account is based on Keary⁶ up to A. D. 888, except that it is amplified from Storm's *Krit. Bidr.* For events later than 888, Worsaae's book is our basis, again with amplifications from Storm, and with modifications and illustrations from the annals themselves, as will appear in the notes or in the text.

The first account of a Viking invasion of European territory is given by Gregory of Tours under the year 515 (*Gregorii Turonensis Historia Francorum* III, cap. 3), when led by Hugelc, the "Chochilaicus" of Gregory's account, "Hygelac" in *Beowulf* (lines 2354-8 in Grein), the invaders went up the

⁴ For full details of these books, see Bibliography.

⁵ Published in 1891, Keary's book had been delayed for fear Du Chaillu's *Viking Age* might cover the same ground!

⁶ It will be observed that the word Western in the title of Keary's book excludes the Varangians in Russia and Constantinople.

Meuse, where they got rich booty. But Hugleik was killed and his men were driven back to their ships by the Frankish army. This attempt apparently remained isolated and had no important consequences, for no more is heard of the Vikings for more than two centuries. When they again appeared on the continent, to make their first serious attack, great political changes had taken place in Europe, as may be seen from a study of the *Annales* of Einhard for the years 772-804. The Saxons had been converted to Christianity by Charles the Great at the point of the sword. Before the next appearance of the Vikings on the continent, we find them in the British Isles, where they begin their depredations in the year 789. The continental coast is only occasionally harassed by them (Frisia and its islands, 799 and 800).

Had the Vikings made their attacks at the beginning of the ninth century, it seems not unreasonable to believe that they might have experienced, at the hands of Charles the Great, a defeat that would have dampened the "furor Nortmannorum" to such an extent as to have discouraged them in their attempts to settle and secure a firm foothold on the continent. That wise ruler appears to have recognized the possibilities of danger from that direction. Thus, according to Einhard, we find him in the year 811 making a tour of inspection of the coast defences in West Francia, with a view to strengthening them. After the death of the Norse chief Godfred, the Vikings in the British Isles desisted from an expedition projected against the Frisian coast. The Anglo-Saxon and Irish chronicles are filled with their doings, especially in Ireland, until well into the fourth decade of the ninth century. In the year 834 the first really serious onslaught was made on the Frisian coast, resulting in the plundering, among other places, of the city of Dorstad, on the Lower Rhine, in what is now Holland. This performance was repeated in 835, in 836, and again in 837. So complete was the work of destruction that the name of the town was forgotten, although it still appears on the map in Worsaae's *Danske Erobring*.

For a few years, Christian Europe had peace from its pagan invaders; but in 843 the enemy actually wintered in France

for the first time. In 845 an attack was made on Paris by a new fleet sailing up the Seine; fortune favored the invaders and they even entered the city and began to cut down the inhabitants, when they were stopped by a dense fog, which the Christians quite naturally believed to have been sent by God and the city's patron saints. The harryings of the Vikings are not limited to Frisia and France: in 850 they spent their first winter in England (Isle of Thanet, off the Thames), their rule in Ireland having been already firmly established since the beginning of the century. A second attack on Paris was made in the winter of 856-857, and the Vikings, after having burnt several churches, were induced to leave only through the payment of a heavy ransom. During the Spring of 861, Vikings marauding along the Seine made two more attacks on Paris.⁷

To get at the little that contemporary history has to tell us concerning Rollo, it will be necessary for us to pay some attention to the great campaign against the continent which seems to have brought him conspicuously into notice. It is only towards the end of this expedition that we begin to hear of Rollo, yet, to get his historical setting, we must remember, with Munch,⁸ that the conquest of Normandy means a campaign of thirty-six years, intermittent, perhaps, but carried on by one and the same army, which may, however, have been constantly reinforced. These thirty-six years extend from 879 to 915. At the beginning of their attacks the Northmen were not led by Rollo, but by the Danish princes Sigfred and Godfred, perhaps also by Haastein. In 879 an army of Northmen gathered on the Thames. England was already Danelagh from the Eastern coast to Watling Street. This army set sail for Flanders, landing on the banks of the Scheldt, and staying there until the year 881, engaged all that time in marauding

⁷ The attacks on Paris are mentioned here to the exclusion of many notices that might be given concerning raids on other places. But the amount of annalistic material is so enormous, and the story so disjointed, that a full account of all the plunderings would be a dry catalog. The works of the continental annalists who deal with this period have all been printed in Pertz's *Monumenta Germaniae*, even those annals that were not written in Germany. The community of interests in the middle ages was not limited by the present national boundaries.

⁸ *Det norske folks historie*, I, 669.

expeditions. Occasionally pitched battles were fought with the people of the surrounding districts. So in 880 the Vikings defeated Louis, the East Frankish king and killed his son, and a little later, on the river Scheldt, they inflicted a severe defeat on the Abbot Gauzlin. Reverses, however, were also not lacking; especially noteworthy is the battle of Saulcourt, on August 3, 881, where they were vanquished by the West Frankish king, Louis III. This event inspired one of the most valuable works of Old High German Literature, the *Ludwigslied*.⁹ During the autumn of this year the Northmen withdrew from Saulcourt and the surrounding regions of Picardy and made their way into Frisia, which they subdued, after which they sailed up the Maas and wintered at Haslou. In 882 they were besieged here by the East Franconian king, Charles, who finally made peace with them, however, and permitted Godfred to rule over Frisia. In July 882 Sigfred was also bought off by Charles with a large sum of money, whereupon Sigfred left Charles' dominions and went into winter-quarters at Condatum (Condé sur l'Escaut). But his pilferings in Flanders, Picardy and Champagne still continued. In the summer of 883 the invaders settled at Amiens and in the neighboring country, staying there during the winter and summer of 884. In October of that year Carloman bought them off for the sum of 12,000 marks, to raise which it was necessary for him to tax to the utmost all the resources of the country, including the possessions of the clergy. In December of the same year the Vikings seem to have regarded all obligations as at an end, for they attacked West Franconia, then belonging to the Emperor Charles. In the summer of 885 they penetrated to the valley of the Seine, and on the 25th of July took possession of Rouen.

Another long siege of Paris by the Northmen followed, lasting from November 885 until October 886 and the invaders were persuaded to raise the siege only by the promise of money and by the permission to pass Paris and sail with their ships up the Seine and settle down in Burgundy, where they were allowed to plunder. They interrupted this occupation long enough, however, to pay a visit to Paris again in 887 to collect

⁹ Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, No. XXXVI.

the promised ransom. Their next operation was directed westward and resulted in the defeat of the Bretons, after which they returned to the Seine (890). The scene of their activity now shifted again to the East, and while besieging Louvain they were routed by the East Frankish king, Arnulf (Sept. 1, 891). During the years 893-896 nothing is heard of their depredations, for they had gone to England, not because Arnulf's victory had been followed up with sufficient energy to make their stay on the continent uncomfortable, but because the crops were bad and the West Frankish country was too poor to make plundering profitable. But they were back again in 897 and occupied their former foothold, the valley of the Seine, whence they spread once more throughout the north of France. During the closing years of the ninth and the first decade of the tenth century, we hear little of their doings, as the keeping of records seems to have become less and less customary, probably because of the general discouragement and lack of faith in the permanence of anything written, which resulted from the harryings of the invaders. Thus the *Annales Vedastini*¹⁰ end with the year 900, and give as their last entry a statement that Counts Robert, Richard and Heribert are debating what is to be done with the Northmen.¹¹ The next certain date of importance is that of the battle of Chartres (911). It is not known who was victorious in this battle, although it seems the invaders must have made a good showing, as the region about the mouth of the Seine was handed over to them. We are also told that they were baptized. This gave the Normans¹² official recognition on the continent. The few remaining dates are now given in chronological order:

910 The Norsemen devastate Brittany (Province of Cornouaille), scattering the inhabitants.

¹⁰ So named after St. Vaast near Arras, where they were written (874-900).

¹¹ All the annals dealing with the Carolingian (to 911) and the succeeding Saxon dynasty are edited in Pertz's *Monumenta* (main series, *Scriptores*, vols. 1-4, given as No. 4 under I. *Scriptores*, in the classification of Karl Jacob, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1906, p. 35).

¹² The name "Normans" seems appropriate now that they are on their own soil.

- 921 Count Robert, after having in vain besieged the Norsemen of the Loire for five months, grants them the possession of Brittany and takes hostages.
- 927 Brittany again given to the Norsemen, whence it would seem that they had not taken possession of it on the previous occasion.
- 931 Incon, apparently chief of the Loire Norsemen, punishes the Bretons for rebelling against and killing his governors.
- 933 William, chief of the Seine Normans,¹³ does homage to King Charles and receives in exchange a part of Brittany.¹⁴

As the last entry mentions a new ruler for the Seine Normans, we are already beyond Rolf's time, and must now retrace our steps to gather up what little we know of Rollo himself from the contemporary annals.

- 911¹⁵ The land at the mouth of the Seine is granted to the invaders, but Rollo is not mentioned.
- 918 In a letter of King Charles, it is recorded that the land has been handed over to the Norsemen of the Seine, with the explanation that Rollo and his men are meant.
- 929 Rollo mentioned as still living.
- 933 Before this year Rollo must have died (see 933 above).

This is all that the contemporary annals have to tell us, with the exception of the testimony of a poem that Gaston Paris published for the first time in 1870 from a Ms of the year 1000 (circa), and to which he gave the name "*Planctus super mortem Wilhelmi*." Substituting in the second half the corrections that Storm¹⁶ regards as absolutely required to make sense, we read:

Hic in orbe transmarino natus patre
in errore paganorum permanente
matre quoque consignata alma fide
sacra fuit lotus unda.

¹³ So Rollo must already have been dead.

¹⁴ The dates are according to Storm *Krit. Bidr.*, pp. 137-139.

¹⁵ After the Battle of Chartres, see above.

¹⁶ *Krit. Bidr.* 140-141.

Moriente infidele suo patre
 quos confisus Deo valde sibi ipse
 surrexerunt contra eum bellicosi
 subjugavit dextra forte.¹⁷

As this is a lament on the death of Wilhelm, these lines refer to him and the references to his father are of course to Rollo. Although it is written seventy years after the death of Rollo, this information may be regarded as derived from a contemporary source, because it shows us a living tradition concerning Rollo's origin, which may very well have persisted for so short a period. It impresses us all the more as being genuine in view of the fact that those sources which Steenstrup uses by preference, none of which are contemporary, give us no similar data. Storm has so thoroughly succeeded in discrediting the accounts of these posthumous historians,¹⁸ that it would hardly repay us here to resume their arguments. Only one of the later chroniclers, Adémar de Chabannes (as a rule wrongly named "Adémar de Chabannais," by Storm as well as by others, as is indicated in the authoritative edition by Jules Chavanon),¹⁹ presents a meagre, sober, unrheterical account which is entirely in accord with the traditions embodied in some of the sagas, to which we shall devote our attention presently. Adémar's history, written before 1030, contains several details curiously corroborating the information yielded by the *Planctus*, to the effect that Rollo remained a heathen at heart, even after baptism. So we read in one MS:

"Et factus christianus a sacerdotibus Francorum, imminente obitu in amentiam versus, christianos centum ante se decollari fecit in honore quae coluerat idolorum, et demum centum auri libras per aecclesias distribuit, Christianorum in honore veri Dei, in cuius nomine baptismum suscepit."

Beheading a hundred Christians in honor of the old gods,

¹⁷ The corrections are only three in number. To save space, only the emended passage is given here.

¹⁸ The dates at which these men wrote their works is an indication of their nearness to the events, and of their trustworthiness when they contradict the contemporary annals: Richer de St. Remy (995-998), Dudon de St. Quentin (1010-1020), Guillaume de Jumièges (1070-1080).

¹⁹ Chavanon, p. 139.

and at the same time distributing treasure to the Christian churches in honor of his Christian baptism, certainly exhibits a curious state of mind on the part of Rollo, and strikingly confirms the testimony of the *Planctus*. Whether Rollo kept up his inconsistent course, and whether the same impartial magnanimity was displayed frequently during his rule, Adémar does not say, but that, comparatively speaking, only a few of his subjects became Christians during his life, is clear from the following quotation, which tells us that Rollo's son Willelmus, who had been baptized when very young, finally introduced the new religion after his father's death:²⁰

"Tunc Roso defuncto, filius ejus Willelmus loco ejus prae-fuit, a puericia baptizatus, omnisque eorum Normannorum, qui juxta Frantiam habitaverunt, multitudo fidem Christi suscepit, et gentilem linguam obmittens, latino sermone assuefacta est."

Now that we have considered the meagre information to be gleaned from the chroniclers contemporaneous with Rollo or nearly so, we are ready to take up the references to Gǫngu-Hrólfr that occur in the sagas. In doing this, however, we must exclude GHS, for excepting a few vague suggestions at the end of this chapter, this saga has absolutely no connection with the more trustworthy traditions of the older and more legitimate sagas. It is unfortunate and misleading that Möbius, in his *Verzeichniss*, should give, under "Göngu-Hrólfs saga," references to the works of Steenstrup and Storm, cited above. Whatever the controversy between those two eminent scholars has brought to light, it has contributed nothing to our knowledge of GHS. This is not to be construed as a reproach to these writers, as they were not in any way concerned with the mass of heterogeneous material found in GHS. In the single instance where Storm cites GHS, and which we shall have occasion to discuss later, he does so merely in order to explain the meaning and use of a certain word.

There exist four records, or rather, four works, of Scandinavian origin, in which there are records of Gǫngu-Hrólfr, as opposed to the contemporary and post-contemporary continental accounts which we have already considered. One of these four is Norwegian, the other three are Icelandic.

²⁰ Chavanon, p. 148.

The Norwegian record was entirely unknown until Munch in the year 1849 discovered the Scotch manuscript of the *Historia Norvegiae*, which Storm²¹ believes dates from about the year 1180. In an account of the countries paying tribute to Norway, mention is made of the Orkney Islands and the expeditions that set out from these. One of the Vikings living in those islands was called "Gongurolfr," because, owing to his great size, he was unable to ride a horse and therefore always went on foot. From the information contained in this MS Storm draws the following inferences concerning the historical Gøngu-Hrólf, who of course is not the hero of GHS: Vikings belonging to the race of Chief Ragnvald in the time of King Harald conquered these islands near the Scotch coast, which thereupon became the starting-point for new Norwegian conquests, and about the year 900 there was very lively intercourse between these islands and the other Viking stations in England, Scotland and Ireland. Furthermore, Rodulf or Gongurolfr went to Normandy from the Scotch islands.

The *Landnámabok*, a purely Icelandic source, gives information concerning the offspring of the historical Gønguhrólf. A woman named "Nidbjörg" is mentioned as the daughter of "Bjolan" and "Kadlin" (Catherine), and Kadlin is given as the daughter of Gøngu-Hrólf. This tradition clearly shows that in the Eastern part of Iceland, when *Landnáma* was composed (about the middle of the twelfth century), the Gønguhrólf who was the ancestor of the Dukes of Normandy was regarded as one of the sons of Earl Ragnvald. It was also believed that a daughter of his was already living in Scotland before he landed in Normandy.

The information which Storm draws from the Saga of the Orkney Earls is very slight and amounts to this: Before Gøngu-Hrólf conquered Normandy he had already for a long time been leading the life of a Viking. Moreover he was a son of Ragnvald and a brother to the Earls of More and of the Orkneys.

Finally, there is the testimony contained in Chapter 26 of Snorri's *Ólafssaga helga*, to the effect that when still a young man, Gøngu-Hrólf was banished from Norway by King Harald.

²¹ *Krit. Bidr.*, p. 169.

This is the account that Carlyle follows in the passage quoted at the beginning of the present chapter.

To Storm these sources are useful in establishing the fact that Gǫngu-Hrólf was a Norwegian, and not, as Steenstrup held, a Dane. For us, this question is of little importance. Whether the historical Gǫngu-Hrólf was a Dane or a Norwegian is of no consequence as regards the character of the hero of our saga, of whom we may safely assert that he is neither Dane nor Norwegian, but like so many heroes of the *Fornaldarsögur*, belongs to the land of fable.

We are now ready to answer the question concerning the relation between the historical Gǫngu-Hrólf and the hero of GHS. What they have in common is the name and nothing else. What strikes us as peculiar is the way in which the name itself must have been taken from one of the four Scandinavian sources given above, or from some similar source now unknown, and more striking still is the fact that the meaning of the name should have been amplified; and that then, an entirely fictitious *Fornaldarsaga* was constructed about that name. It would be analogous to this procedure if one should borrow a name from real life, assign this name to a fictitious character, and then write a novel concerning this character, without the slightest regard for the actual biography of the original possessor of the name. Nowhere in the authentic Scandinavian sources do we find any reference to the great weight of Gǫngu-Hrólf, and the reasonable inference seems to be that it was his size rather than his weight that prevented him from riding horseback and compelled him to go on foot. But the author of GHS lays more stress on the weight, for he says of Hrólf (GHS IV): "hann var manna mestr, bæði at digurð ok haeð ok svá þungr at engi hestr fekk borit hann allan dag, ok var hann því jafnan á gǫngu." Evidently the author of GHS had no use for a hero that was unable to perform deeds of prowess on horseback, and so the hero's size must not prevent him from riding; but, owing to his great weight, he cannot be on horseback all day. This heaviness does not, however, render it impossible for Hrólf to perform the knightly exploits which are so dear to the author's heart.

CHAPTER VI

GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE DISPLAYED IN THE *GÖNGU- HRÓLFSSAGA*

The list of Geographical Names in Appendix III, which is intended as a supplement to this chapter, will give an idea of the large number of places mentioned in GHS,¹ and also of the wide geographical knowledge of its author. *Garðaríki* is the scene of the main action, so what can be more natural than that the unusually gifted *Grímr aegir* should pay visits to the adjacent *Jötunheim*, and that King *Menelaus of Tattararíki* should attempt to hold *Heðinsey*, which lies between his kingdom and *Garðaríki*? But this exploitation of the popular geographical notions current in the Middle Ages, does not satisfy our author, so we also find references to many lands, from *Írland* to *Indíaland*. In fact the story is not cramped within narrow boundaries. It is noteworthy, however, that there is no mention of *Vinland*, the Icelandic name for that part of America known to the Norsemen. Moreover, strange to say, no word is said about Iceland, although, in accordance with the principles of composition of these fabulous sagas, that country may have been purposely omitted in order not to weaken the impression of exotic strangeness that the names of so many little-known countries must have made on the minds of the readers.

The saga begins and ends in *Garðaríki*, and whether that land is to be ruled by the invader *Erik*, or by *Ingigerð*, the rightful heiress to the throne, is the question at issue. It will be well to bear in mind from the very start, that the author knew practically nothing of *Garðaríki*, which name stands in so many sagas for the western portion of Russia. Nor are the historical sagas more explicit on this point, yet it must be from the then existing saga material that our author gets his

¹ Seventy geographical names occur in the saga.

names, for they can hardly have been more than names to him. But while the author does not have any real knowledge of Garðaríki, he certainly is careful to agree with his sources in the use of these names, and thus to conceal his own ignorance of the localities in question.

There were good reasons why Scandinavian writers should have known something about Garðaríki, in view of the fact that Scandinavians played such an important part in the founding of the Russian state.² According to the Russian chronicle of Nestor, the Varangians came from over the sea in the year 859, and took tribute from a number of Slavonic tribes, that are specifically named. Having become tired of paying tribute to these "Varangians", they drove them, in the year 862, back over the sea. "And they began to govern themselves; and there was no justice among them, and clan rose against clan, and there was internal strife between them, and they began to make war on each other."³ Realizing their sad plight when left to themselves, they sought for a prince who might rule them justly, and turned to the Varangians whom they had driven out,⁴ offering them the control of their land, which they said was large and rich, but without order and in sore need of a ruler. Accordingly three brothers were induced to come over with all their relatives and followers; the eldest, Rurik, settled in Novgorod, the second, Sineus, near Bielo-ozero, the third, Truvor, in Izborsk. "And the Russian land Novgorod was called after these Varangians; they are the Novgorodians of Varangian descent; previously the Novgorodians were Slavonians; but after the lapse of two years Sineus and his brother Truvor died, and Rurik assumed the government and divided the towns among his men, to one Polotsk, to another Rostov, to another Bielo-ozero." Few passages in the history of any people have occasioned a more vigorous and sometimes

² A complete résumé of the history of their settlements is given in Vilhelm Thomsen's *Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia, and the Origin of the Russian State*, Oxford, 1877.

³ V. Thomsen translates a portion of this passage of Nestor, pp. 13-14. The original passages, in Russian, with Latin translations, are given in Kruse's *Chronicon Nortmannorum Wariago-Russorum*; see Bibliography.

⁴ Or to some other Varangians, Thomsen, p. 13. The translated passage, like the original, admits of either interpretation.

even acrimonious discussion than these few words of Nestor. The matter is all the more debatable owing to the existence of several MSS. of Nestor, two of which (the so-called *Hypatian* and *Radziwill* MSS.), say that Rurik first settled at Ladoga and did not move the seat of his government to Novgorod until the death of his two brothers. Unfortunately, misdirected patriotic zeal has often interfered with the calm judgment of scholarship and has added to the difficulties of arriving at a solution of this tangled question. The controversy raging around this passage of Nestor has divided the writers of early Russian history into two camps, the "Scandinavomaniacs" and the "Russomaniacs", the latter not uninfluenced, perhaps, by motives connected with the once widespread Panslavic movement. The question at issue was, were the Varangians Scandinavians or Slavs? As was natural, the former camp split into two divisions: those who believed that the "Varangians" were Swedes pure and simple, and those who claimed that the term "Varangian" merely denoted "Teuton", without defining nationality more closely. For our purposes it will suffice to state briefly the conclusions arrived at by Thomsen, as follows: The Varangians who came to Russia in 862⁵ were Swedes, who settled, among other places, in Ladoga and Novgorod, which correspond to the Aldeigjuborg and Hólmgarðr mentioned in the GHS and in many other Icelandic sagas, historical as well as fictitious.

A glance at the map will be necessary in order to appreciate fully the peculiar route that Scandinavian, and as it seems, more especially Swedish traders followed in their voyages to Garðaríki and further on to Miklugarði, with which the name "Varangian" was later to be prominently associated. Novgorod, to begin with, if that was really the place designated in the sagas as Hólmgarðr, must not be taken as identical with the city of Nizhni-Novgorod, on the Volga, so familiar to modern readers because of its annual fairs. This is the unfortunate error to which Du Chaillu commits himself in the map

⁵ Or during a long period which culminated in that year, as Thomsen has a series of considerations pointing to the fact that the relations between Russia and the Scandinavians must have begun long before that year.

prefixed to the first chapter of his *Viking Age*.⁶ Geographical considerations make it plain that it must be the other, still existing but almost forgotten Novgorod, on the shores of Lake Ilmen, once a great trade centre, and especially famous during the times of the Hanseatic League, of which it was one of the chief stations, which lies on the most feasible route of travel from Sweden to Constantinople. The maps in Keary's *Vikings in Western Christendom*⁷ and in Verelius' *History of Sweden*⁸ show the position of this city correctly. It is unfortunate, in this connection, that the Icelanders themselves, great as was their clerical activity in other directions, should not have left a single map that might give some indication of the extent of the travels of their kinsmen in Russia, along the Mediterranean, and through the continent of Europe to Rome, and further, to Jerusalem.⁹ A single so-called "mappemonde" does exist,¹⁰ in which the relative positions of various peoples are crudely marked by merely writing the tribal names in a juxtaposition corresponding, apparently, with their relative geographical situation, and there is also a plan of the tomb at Jerusalem, which has of course no value for the present inquiry. Assuming then, that Novgorod (or Hólmgarðr, although the identity of the two places is not undisputed, see note, p. 61) was one of the seats of Varangian government and commerce, it is difficult to see how it could have been of much utility as a seaport. This difficulty, however, is only an apparent one, as Novgorod was easily accessible from the ocean for the comparatively light vessels of the ninth and tenth centuries. The city lies on an island at the northern extremity of Lake Ilmen, where the River Volkhov drains the lake, to carry its waters to Lake Ladoga, whence the short, but very broad and deep Neva flows into the Gulf of Finland. There is little doubt that this journey was made frequently, as is indicated for example in this passage of *Óláfssaga helga*,

⁶ Vol. I, p. xx.

⁷ Frontispiece.

⁸ Vol. I, p. 46.

⁹ According to Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, I, 557, the two maps that follow are the only ones that are preserved.

¹⁰ Printed in Ant. Rus., Vol. II.

which describes an embassy to Russia undertaken by Einarr Þambarskelfi and Kalfr Árnasonr: "þeir foru um varit austr um Kjöl til Jamtlands, þá til Helsingjals, ok komu fram í Svíþjóð, réðu þar til skipa; fóru um sumarit austr í Garðaríki, komu um haustit Aldeigjuborgar. Gerðu þeir þá sendimenn upp til Hólmgarðs á fund Jarisleifs konungs, með þeim erendum, at þeir buðu Magnusi, synn Ólafs konungs hins helga, at taka við hanum ok fylgja hanum til Noregs, ok veita hanum styrk til þess, at hann fái fœðurleifð sína, ok halda hann til konungs yfir landi" (C. 265).

From this passage the location of Aldeigjuborg also is plain. Just as Hólmgarðr is at one end of the Volkhov, namely where it leaves Lake Ilmen, so Aldeigjuborg is at the other end of the same river, where it enters the other lake, Ladoga. If the Scandinavian name of this lake was Aldeigja, not unlike Ladoga in form, the city on that lake would naturally be Aldeigjuborg (*Aldeigju*, gen. of Aldeigja, + *borg*, "city"). The etymology of both Hólmgarðr and Aldeigja¹¹ has given rise to some interesting speculations.

Although an exact parallelism, in form, between Hólmgarðr and Novgorod, cannot be drawn, the second syllable of each, here at least, undoubtedly has the same meaning.¹² It is true, however, that the word garðr is never seen in Icelandic to mean "city" except in the designation of mythical or foreign places.¹³ This fact ought to be enough to render impossible the contention, otherwise reasonable, that the Slavonic word for "city", owing to its great similarity with the Icelandic garðr, is borrowed from the latter. On the contrary, although the word garðr is good Icelandic, its use to replace the more

¹¹ That Aldeigja may have been used as the name, not only of the lake, but also of the town on it, without the generic suffix *borg*, results from the following stanza inserted in *Ólafssaga Tryggvasonar* (Heimskringla), c. 97:

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Oddhriðar fór eyða | Aldeigju brauzk, oegir |
| (óx hrið af því) síðan | (oss numnask skil) gumna; |
| logfagandi laegis | (sú varð hildir) með höldum |
| land Valdamars brandi; | (harð), komt austr í Garða. |

¹² Original Slavonic *or* became, in Russian, *oro*; in Church Slavonic, *ra*; this will explain Mod. Rus. *gorod* = Ch. Sl. *grad*, as below (Berneker, *Russische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1902).

¹³ Thomsen, p. 80; Koenugarðr = *Kiev*; Mikligarðr = *Constantinople*, perhaps an imitation of the Slavonic Tsarigrad = *the Emperor's town*.

customary *borg* (in *Aldeigjuborg*, for example), in foreign countries, might not improperly be assigned to a foreign influence, in this case to the language of the country in question, namely, to Russian. This foreign influence appears to be here all the more reasonable when we repeat that *garðr* in the sense of "city" is never used in Iceland (CV s. v. *Garðr*, for mythological names as well. But CV's explanation of *Garðaríki* or *Garðaveldi*, "the name being derived from the castles or strongholds which the Scandinavians erected among the Slavonic people," the name thus telling us the same tale as the Roman *castra* in England, must also be noted).

Thomsen gives two possible derivations for the first syllable of *Hólmgarðr*: *holmr* = island, the city being on an island, or *holm* = a corruption of *Ilmen*, the native name of the lake, reduced to *holm* by popular etymology, thus rendering possible the former assumption. Another, more ingenious explanation, but rather far-fetched, is that offered by Kruse in *Chronicon Nortmannorum Wariago-Russorum*.¹⁴ Kruse explains *Hólmgard* as the territory included between Lakes Ladoga and Onega, "and thereabout," which he says is called an island (whence the name *Hólmgard*), because it is almost an island, being full of swamps, lakes and rivers (H. est tractus inter Lacus Ladogam et Onegam et circa, ita dictus, quia fere insula erat, paludibus, lacubus fluviisque munita). While the words "and thereabout" (et circa) permit us to include the district between lakes Ladoga and Ilmen under the designation *Hólmgarðr*, we cannot but observe that the country called by that name is shifted to the Northeast by Kruse, to a region not between the cities of *Aldeigjuborg* and *Novgorod-Hólmgarðr*, but to one on the same side of both. "*Holm*," adds Kruse, "et *gard* restant vero in nomine Russici *Cholmogori*".¹⁵

There is a general belief, which is quite old, that *Aldeigjuborg* is the same place as that which is called *Ladoga* in Rus-

¹⁴ P. 282, following Rasmussen: *De Arabum Persarumque Commercio cum Russia* (Havniae 1825), p. 15.

¹⁵ Perhaps it is the name *Cholmogori* that led Kruse and Rasmussen to this suggestion, as the town is in the province of Archangelsk, and as a matter of fact, lies on the Northern Dwina, as may be seen from the map appended to Engelhardt's *A Russian Province of the North*, London, 1899.

sian, although the correctness of this assumption has been doubted.¹⁶ Sjögren declares *Aldeigjuborg* to be the originally Finnish *Ladoga*,¹⁷ but Kunik cites another writer (Butkow in an *Abhandlung über Aldeigjaborg* in "Sohn des Vaterlandes," 1836), who opposes this contention.¹⁸

Though they left us no maps of their travels, the Icelanders, in many sagas and other documents, have given us trustworthy information concerning the customs and habits of the people of Iceland. In view of the admirable itineraries across Germany and Italy that they have written, it is regrettable that not one written record is extant of some credible journey made by an Icelander who may have accompanied the Swedish "Varangians" in Russia. It is probable that some Icelanders did go with the Swedish merchants on these trips. The word "Vaeringjar" does occur in a number of sagas,¹⁹ but in every case it is applied as in the classical example in Chapter III of *Haraldssaga harðráða*, to those Varangians who formed the body-guard of the Byzantine emperor at Constantinople, and who were proud to count Haraldr harðráði himself among

¹⁶ Elgh (*Dissertatio de Waregia*, pp. 8-9, see Bibliography): A partibus tamen Wagriorum, adhuc stare videtur ex veteribus modo citati Helmoldi auctoritas, cujus haec sunt verba: Est autem Aldenburg ea, quae Slavica lingua Starigard hoc est antiqua civitas dicitur sita in terra Wagriorum, in occiduus partibus Baltici maris, et est terminus Slaviae. Et quia ante dicerat: Haec (Russia) etiam Chunigard dicitur, eo quod ibi sedes Hunnorum primo fuerit. Hujus metropolis civitas est Chue, exinde colligere volunt, ubi Wagriorum Abotritorum aliorumque Slavorum Reguli olim habitaverunt, esse veterem Chue, intuitu cujus, post occupatam a Slavinis Russiam, Novogardia dicta sit Novogorod. Sed quid opus fuit in tam dissitis regionibus quaerere urbem, quae isti Wagriorum Altenburg responderet, cum in ipsa Wagria adhuc habeatur urbs Novostadium sive Neustadt, quae etiam Slavice sonat Novogorod? Illa autem civitas, cujus intuitu Novogardia in Russia, dicta sit Novogorod, certe nulla alia fuit quam illa Holmgardiorum ad lacum Ladogam sita regia Aldejoborg, sive Aldeigjuborg, cujus frequens mentio fit in historicis Scandicis.

¹⁷ P. 227 of the *Mémoires*, see Bibliography under Sjögren.

¹⁸ Kunik, *Berufung*, Vol. I, p. 138. As the "Sohn des Vaterlandes" evidently stands for the "Syn Otyéchestva," a Russian daily paper, and as no files of these dailies are kept in American libraries, the article has not been accessible.

¹⁹ CV, p. 720.

their number, even making him their leader.²⁰ Perhaps the total absence in the Icelandic sagas of distinct references to the Varangians who founded the Russian empire, may be taken as an indirect proof that Thomsen's assertion that these "Varangians" were Swedes, is correct. The complementary positive proof would be expected in the Swedish accounts of the same period, but the lack of almost all contemporary documents in Sweden, both literary and historical, is notorious. Yet, in view of the fact that thousands of Arabic coins were found in Sweden, especially on the island of Gotland, and that Anglo-Saxon coins were found in Russia, and in view of the explicit testimony afforded by Swedish *bautasteins* to the effect that Swedish subjects fell in the east, in Garðaríki, we must agree with Thomsen that the Austrvegr must have been a much-frequented route. It is even possible, as Thomsen insists, that the trip along the Eastern Way may have been a much more common one than that undertaken later on by the kinsmen of these Swedes in the fruitful and more cultured lands of Western Europe. In support of this thesis, Thomsen goes so far as to say that the word *austrvegr*, which occurs so often on the *bautasteins*, is paralleled by no similar word which would indicate equal familiarity with the currents of Viking adventure in the West. Considering the precision and definiteness with which Thomsen has settled almost all the disputed points on this subject, it would almost seem unkind to call attention to the fact that this word after all does exist, at least in the plural *vestrvegir*.²¹

Before taking up other details of Russian geography, in order to be able later to test GHS by the geographical knowledge of the time, it will be well to see what this saga tells us

²⁰ Almost all the books that have been written on Varangians deal with these mercenaries (e. g., Cronholm's *Waringarne*, which gives critical accounts of the most famous "Warings," such as Finnbogi ramma, Kolskegg, Þorvaldr víðfjörla, Haraldr harðráða, etc.). The promising title "Poslyednyi Variag" (the last Varangian), is only the poetical title of an Essay on Charles XII of Sweden, by Professor Vladimir Ivanovitch Gerye in a Russian magazine (*Drevnyaya i Novaya Rossiya*, St. Petersburg, May and June, 1876).

²¹ CV s. v. *vestrvegr*, gives definition (as opposed to *austrvegr*, *suðrvegr*, *norðr-vegr*) and reference to *Bautil* 962.

concerning the route that has been outlined above, namely the commercial passage from Hólmgarðr or Novgorod on Lake Ilmen, through the Volkhov to Aldeigjuborg or Ladoga on Lake Ladoga, and then through the Neva to the Baltic. Whatever else the author of GHS may have known about Geography, and in some cases we shall show that his knowledge is worth considering, he shows no knowledge of the two cities on this route, although he frequently mentions them; he does not even give us the direction in which one lies from the other, and of the rivers he says not a word.²² Furthermore, if his style were not bare, and following the model of other older and more truthful writers, so objective as to conceal all expression of his own views on the course of the story, we should surely find it possible to trace, even in his vocabulary, signs of the nervousness with which he hastens to excuse his ignorance on the subject of the Geography of Garðaríki. Often, when we should most desire something definite concerning the journey he is describing, he says nothing of the directions, distances, or the character of the road or conveyance. Even at crucial points, early in the saga as well as toward the end of it, he fails to mention by what means Hrólfr gets from one place to another. In fact it is chiefly in connection with the movements of Hrólfr himself that the author of GHS takes the pains expressly to disavow any knowledge of the circumstances attending a trip. There is only one such instance in which he pleads ignorance that is not directly connected with Hrólfr.

In that chapter of the saga in which Hrólfr makes his first appearance, (IV), he quarrels with his father and brothers and leaves home, so secretly that "vissu menn eigi, hvat um hann leið," (IV). The next time we hear of Hrólfr we feel that he is as ignorant of his bearings as is the reader, for (VI) "hónum voru vegir ókunnigr", but we have been already told that he had started his journey in Hringaríki, not far from the present southern extremity of the boundary line between Sweden and Norway, that he passed chiefly through forests and uninhabited places and finally directed his steps up

²² Volkhov, Neva. But GHS mentions the Dýna; see p. 66 ff. and the alphabetical list of Geographical Names (App. III).

towards Sweden by way of the Eiðuskog (stefnir hann svá austr í Eiðuskog, ok aetlaði upp í Svíaríki). This forest was large and Hrólf lost his way, and was in it for a long time, until one evening (eitt kveld), he found Atli Ótryggsson's house. A few days after he had killed Atli Ótryggsson in self-defence, he had the encounter with eleven men in a clearing in the woods (einn dag kom hann fram í eitt rjóðr, ok sá þar ellifu menn alvopnaða).²³ Although it was not easy to find one's way through the forest, travelers seem to have used it frequently in passing from Norway to Sweden and vice versa. Hrólf concludes that the eleven men he has killed must have come from Vermaland, either to hunt or in search of Atli (Svá þótti hönun, sem þeir menn mundu verit hafa ór Vermalandi ok farit at jaga dyr, eðr um eptirleit við Atla). Perhaps it is due to the influence of the dim and fabulous East that the clearness and exactness of the account decrease as we move eastward, beginning already in Sweden (fór hann þá leiðar sinnar, er ok ekki sagt frá ferðum hans, fyrr enn hann kom fram í Gautland við Gautelfi). Up to the present we have the impression that the author knows his geography. Hrólf's progress thus far has been through a country concerning which the author has information either through reading or by word of mouth. And during the remainder of Hrólf's journey, until he reaches Denmark, the writer also seems to know the lay of the land. This is clear from the fact that Hrólf's trip to Jótland, terminating "skamt frá borg Þorgnýs jarls," is made by ship, showing appreciation of the relative position of Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula.

The few things that Hrólf does on the Scandinavian peninsula are all performed in places that the author gives us in their proper geographical setting. Jólgeir's ship, in which Hrólf is to sail, has a captain who is from Silgisdalr in Svíaríki.²⁴ While the ship is moored somewhere on the coast of Kúrland,²⁴ Hrólf has the altercation with Jólgeirr that terminates in the latter's death. We are also informed how long it took to make this trip, and we hear of the return to Den-

²³ For these events of Chapter VI it may be well to refer to the Synopsis of GHS in Chapter III of this work.

²⁴ See App. III, Geographical Names.

mark, but as the men were engaged "í hernað í Austrveg", we must assume that the long period consumed by the journey was not entirely occupied with traveling. During the summer they harried the coast, chiefly that of Kúrland; early in the autumn (er hausta tok) they sailed westward (*austan* = from the East), and reached some place in Jótland late in the autumn (sið um haust). The indications of time do not help us to ascertain whether the author had real knowledge of the distances involved, for we are not informed what part of the period was spent in traveling.

We see that the author knows the name Kúrland and also knows that it stands for a strip of seacoast that can be reached by water from the Scandinavian peninsula. That is all the information we get. The lack of precise information concerning Denmark in connection with this trip is somewhat compensated by the lengthy description of that country in GHS XXXVII.²⁵ But concerning Garðaríki itself, of which Kúrland apparently, in the author's mind, forms no part, he studiously keeps us in the dark. Even when he tells us how Hrólfr sets out from Jótland, in Denmark, to win the hand of Ingigerð for Jarl Þorgnýr, he puts in this disclaimer: "Ekki er sagt frá, hverja leið Hrólfr fór", nor do the words immediately following add to our knowledge: "enn svá sem hann hafði mjök sótt ór Danmörk, var þat einn dag, att hann sá hvar einn maðr gekk" (XIII). Somewhat in accordance with our conception of the common method of getting to Russia from Scandinavian countries in those days, and yet illustrative of the author's timidity to accept any responsibility for his geographical references, is the following: "Þeir fóru um Svíþjóð ok þaðan til Garðaríkis. Ekki er þat greynt, hverja leið þau fóru, fyrr enn þeir komu til Aldeigjuborgar; sat Eirekr konungr í borginni" . . . (XIII).²⁶ But we are not only to

²⁵ See App. II.

²⁶ That is, if "Svíþjóð" means a part of the Scandinavian peninsula; but if, as is quite possible in view of the fact that Hrólfr and Vilhjálfr have no ship,—if it means Svíþjóð hin mikla eða hin kalda (see Alphabetical List of Geographical Names), then the route to Aldeigjuborg would seem to be not the same as that indicated above; nor would it be like the trip across the Bay of Bothnia given in Petersen, but rather an all-land route through Saxland and Vindland, and northward through Garðaríki.

be kept in the dark as to how Hrólfr got to Garðaríki: we are also not told by what road he escapes from there. Sörkver has been defeated and Hrólfr, to save Ingigerð's life and his own, rides off with her and her jewels on the back of Dulcifer; the author readily informs us that their traveling was done rather by night than by day, but avoids giving a plausible account of their journey to Denmark, which would have been exceedingly interesting owing to the fact that, being performed on horseback, the entire itinerary must have been overland. No doubt this was too much of a task for him, so he enters his accustomed plea of ignorance: "Eigi er þat greint, hvar þau fara, eða hversu lengi þau voru á leiðinni, enn meir foru þau um naetr enn um daga" (XXI). Even concerning the latter portion of the journey, which was performed by Vilhjálfr and Ingigerð alone, and which appears to have been done on foot, the author again denies the possession of any information: "Er eigi frá þeirra ferð fyrr sagt, enn þau komu til Þorgnýs jarls."

It is typical of the *Fornaldarsaga*, when it deals with countries not Scandinavian, to invent everything without regard for probability. Even the more historical sagas, not classed as *Fornaldarsögur*, and therefore without the odium implied by the almost synonymous term "lygisögur", show no scruples in this regard. We even have an instance in which GHS is more specific in the presentation of geographical detail than the alleged source. In the very first chapter we are told that at an earlier date, Hreggvið had for seven years harried the country surrounding the river Dýna, "er fellr um Garðaríki, ok herjaði þaðan í Austríki á ymislegir þjóðir, þar með fekk hann fásena dyrgrip; þessi á er hin þriðja eða fjórða mest í heiminum. At uppsprettu ár þessarar leitaði Íngvarr hinn víðförla, sem segir í sögu hans."²⁷

²⁷ A peculiar error of Müller's *Sagabibliothek*, II, 646, should be noted. In giving a synopsis of GHS (646-656), Müller, almost literally translating the words of the saga, says: Dyna, der i Størrelse er den tredje eller fjerde Flod i Verden, og hvis Udspring Erik Vidførlø søgte, som der berettes i hans saga. It is impossible to understand how Müller could have substituted the name "Eirekssaga víðförla" for that of "Ingvarssaga víðförla," the two having so little in common. A mistake that would

The passage of *Ingvarssaga víðfjörla* that is here referred to is the following: (Ch. V) “. . . hann heyrði umraeðu á því, at iii ár fellu austan um Garðaríki, ok var su mest sem í miðit var; þá fór Íngvarr víða um Austriki, ok fretti af nokkur maðr vissi, hvaðan su á felli, en, engi kunni þat at seggja; þá bjó Íngvarr ferð sina ur Garðaríki; ok aetlaði at reyna ok kanna lengð ár þessarar. . . .” Neither here nor elsewhere in *ISV* is the Dýna mentioned by name, a fact that should be noted. N. R. Brocman, in his (the first) edition of *ISV* (Stockholm, 1762), declares that the three rivers here mentioned, but not named, are the Dnieper, the Dvina, and the Volga, and that Íngvarr sailed up a branch of the latter. There is little that is positively known of Íngvarr beyond the fact that there was a man of that name who died in 1041, and who was connected with a voyage (or more than one voyage) to Garðaríki. It is impossible to ascertain whether the author of GHS is right in assuming that Íngvarr sailed up the Dýna.

In view of the general untrustworthiness of both GHS and its source *ISV*, in matters of geography, the question as to accuracy of statement may be dismissed. It will be more profitable to investigate the source of the author's geographical knowledge. As he evidently did not get the name Dýna from *ISV*, where did that name come from? Its occurrence in *Krákumál* can scarcely be brought into connection with GHS, as there are no other points of contact between our saga and that of Ragnar Loðbrók. In this connection, however, the following passage found in the *Ant. rus.*, under the title: *Annota-*

have led to the confusion with it of “Þorvaldssaga víðfjörla,” would have seemed more natural, as Þorvaldr finally builds a monastery in Garðaríki, whereas the *ESV* never mentions that country even by name. What the hero of *ESV* was seeking was the “Ódáinsakr,” which he found, but Ingvarr sought and found the source of a river which the author of GHS says was the Dýna. Müller's substitution would seem like a mere slip of the pen, however, if he did not try, with the aid of the alleged quotation from *ESV*, in GHS, to determine the age of the former, of which he says (II, 663): Hans saga blever citeret i Gange Hrolfs Saga. Da sidstnaevnte neppe kan vaere yngre end Begyndelsen af femtende Aarhundrede, tiener det til at bestyrke den ovenfor yttrede Formodning om Sagaens Aelde. If Müller were entirely unacquainted with *ISV*, we might understand his continued reference to it instead of to the former, but of course he knows *ISV* very well, and gives a long and critical account of it (III, 158-176).

tions géographiques tirées du livre de Hauk Erlendson, is of interest:

“Brunnr er einn í Paradíso, er ór falla fjorar ár hingat í þanna heim ein heitir Phison, hon fellr á Indíalandi; önnur heitir Gion oc Nil öðru nafni, hon fellr um Bláland oc Egiftaland; iii heitir Tigris, hon fellr um Sercland; fjórða heitir Eufratus, hon fellr um Mesopotamia. Pactol heitir á á Asialandi, þa er gull í söndum hjá; Ermr heitir önnur á, þar eru enn gullsandar í hjá; Tög heitir á á Spaníalandi, þar eru oc gullsandar; Rín heitir á á Saxlandi, þar er enn gull í söndum hitt. Tanais heitir á, er skilr Europa frá Asia. Dún heitir á, er mest vatn er á Europa; þar fella í LX stórár oc kemr í VII stöðum í sæ, mikil í öllum stöðum. Í þeim lut heimsins eru þessar aðrir stóráer; Nepr oc Nyia, Seimgal-Duna, Olkoga, Vína, Kuma, Saxelfr, Padus, Tifr, Rodon, Betis.”

Here we have a reference to the Dýna which apparently agrees with what GHS tells us concerning that river. The prominence given to certain Russian rivers furnishes additional proof of the fact that Scandinavian travellers and merchants often passed over the route described on p. 63. Thus the Volkhov (Olkoga), a river so short, and now so unimportant as to be practically unknown to the average reader, is assigned a place among the great rivers of the European continent. To return to the Dýna, is there not a parallel in the passage just quoted, to the words of GHS Ch. I: “þessi á er hin þriðja eða fjórða mest í heiminum”? It will be seen that the largest river in Europe is said to be the Dun, in which we cannot fail to recognize the Danube (Donau). There is nothing in the passage to justify the assumption that the rivers that follow are named in the order of size (and attention must be called to the fact that we do not necessarily mean actual size, but size in the mind of the compiler of this information). A man reading this extract, however, might easily get the impression that in point of size the Danube (to use the English names of these rivers will not impair the correctness of what follows) is followed by the Dnieper, then by the Neva, and in the fourth place, by the Dýna. Nor is it necessary that we assume the author of GHS to have read this very passage; it may have

existed not only in many writings of his day, but also as a part of the oral information on geography that many parents may have transmitted to their children. It may be objected that in GHS the Dýna is not said to be the third or fourth largest river on the continent of Europe, but in the whole world (hin þriðja eða fjórða mest í heiminum). To this it would be possible to answer that, while tradition may have been strong enough to maintain some kind of knowledge concerning the rivers of Europe, we have little reason to believe that any Icelander would have regarded geographical information on extra-European countries as anything else than a harmless fabrication on the part of the author. We repeat, then, that it may have been from some written or oral tradition that the author of GHS got his idea of the relative size of the Dýna.²⁸ The river referred to in the passage cited from the book of Hauk Erlendsson is of course the one now known as the Western Dvina, frequently named the "Duna" in English books to distinguish it from the other, the Northern Dvina, which flows northward into the White Sea, at a short distance from which is situated the port of Archangel.

What else does the author of GHS know about Garðaríki? In the opening paragraph of this chapter mention was made of the island of Heðinsey, lying between Garðaríki and Tattararíki.²⁹ From this it follows that the boundary line between the two countries passed, in part at least, through some body of water in which is situated an island.³⁰ But we may also interpret the expression: "milli Garðaríkis liggir ey ein", to mean "in the middle of Garðaríki," in which case it would be possible to identify Heðinsey with the island now known as Rügen, on the south coast of the Baltic, and that is not unlike

²⁸ Or was it merely a misconception on his part of the statement in *ISV*, that there were three rivers that flowed eastward through Garðaríki?

²⁹ In Liljegren's translation this is also assumed to be the position of the island (mellan Gardaríke ok Tartaria ligger en ö, p. 76).

³⁰ Benedikt Gröndal, *Göngu Hrólfssrimur*, 1893, Formáli, p. vii: Baeði hér og víðar stendur svo á, að menn koma af hafi, þótt nefnt sé lönd sem eru langt frá öllum sjó, t. a. m., Tattaria. Þetta er eitt af einkennum fornaldarsagna, þær hirða ekki um lág né lög, þótt þeir geti upprunalega verið byggðar á verulegum atburðum.

the meaning of the word Heðinsey in *H. Hb.* (*Völsungakviða*), which, according to Mogk, is Hiddensee auf Rügen.⁸¹

The statements concerning the island of Heðinsey fail to give us a clear idea of any beliefs reconcilable with our present knowledge, which the author of GHS had in connection with the geography of Garðaríki. Nor are we enlightened as to his view of the geographical location of certain countries, when we learn that wise men say "that Heðinn the son of Hjarand was the first to settle on that island, when he was sailing from Indíaland to Denmark."⁸² All that we can do is to accept the opinion expressed by Rafn that the author had not the faintest idea of the historical and geographical relations between Garðaríki and Tattararíki.⁸³

Whatever additional information our author thought necessary to divulge on the subject of Garðaríki, he seems to have thrown in hurriedly, apparently for the sake of completeness, in the last chapter, and before we proceed to summarize all his knowledge of that country, it may be well to excerpt the passage in question (Ch. XXXVIII): "Sigldi Hrólfr austr til Hólmgarða með tíu skipum, ok Ingigerðr með honum; var Hrólfr þar til konungs tekinn yfir alt Garðaríki með ráði konungsdottur ok annarra ríkismanna. Þriðjungr Garðaríkis er kallaðr Kaenugarðar; þat liggr með fjallgarði þeim, er skilr Jötunheima ok Hólmgarðaríki; þá er ok Ermland ok fleiri

⁸¹ *Grundriss*, p. 612.

⁸² C. XVII: Þat er fróðra manna soðn, at Heðinn konungr Hjarandason tæki fyrst land við þá ey, er hann sigldi til Danmerkr af Indíalandi. The view that Heðinsey may be a confused recollection in the author's mind of the island we now know as Rügen, is supported by the sentence: Eirekr konungr hafði herjat um ey þessa, áðr hann kom í Garðaríki. Erik would have had to pass through Garðaríki to reach Heðinsey, unless the latter was somewhere in a body of water lying between "Gestrekaland; þat liggr undir Sviakonung," and Garðaríki, for it is from Gestrekaland that Erik comes (GHS Ch. II). See map, *Grundriss*, III, p. 830 (2nd ed).

⁸³ *Ant. rus.*, I, p. 223: Dans la saga du roi Rolf Gautreksson, comme dans les autres de la même classe, celles de Herraud et de Bose, de Gaungu-Rolfe et de Sörlé, on ne reconnaît pas la moindre empreinte de la vérité, de manière que l'enveloppe locale même dont on les a revêtues, en paraît être dépourvue. Ainsi la situation assignée au Gardaríke et à la Tartarie et à l'île de Heðinsey entre ces deux pays prouve que l'auteur n'a pas eu la moindre idée des localités qu'il a essayé de nous décrire; tout ce qu'il en sait, c'est que les Tartares ont joué un rôle dans l'Asie, ce qui nous prouve que le récit a été composé après l'invasion des Mongols en 1241.

önnur smáriki." We meet here for the first time a statement in which Garðaríki and Hólmgarðaríki are not synonymous, as they are in Ch. I: Hólmgarðaríki, er sumir menn kalla Garðaríki. But while we are told that one of the thirds of Garðaríki is Kaenugarðr, and are led to assume that another third is Hólmgarðr, the author leaves us in the dark as to the identity of the remaining third. This we must infer from other sources. Fortunately the Russian annals again assist us,³⁴ and from them we gather that the three main divisions of Garðaríki were Hólmgarðr, Palteskja,³⁵ and Kaenugarðr.

The author's knowledge of Garðaríki might briefly be summed up as follows: He knows that the land was divided into three parts, but names only two (XXXVIII); the name of one of these parts was sometimes synonymous with the whole, for he says (I): "Hólmgarðaríki, er sumir menn kalla Garðaríki"; he knows the names of the two cities in Garðaríki that were probably most familiar to Scandinavian ears: Hólmgarðr and Aldeigjuborg; but in what part of Garðaríki they were he does not tell. We may safely assume that he was ignorant of their precise location, unless we regard the landing on the banks of the Dýna, in order to reach Aldeigjuborg,³⁶ as a proof of his knowledge that the city lay inland, in which case we should be compelled to assume, conversely, from another chapter, that he was ignorant of the fact that Hólmgarðr was also inland.³⁷ He knows that Kúrland is the name of a strip of seacoast on

³⁴ *Ant. rus.* (on *Eymundarsaga*, vol. II): "Les événements tels qu'on les trouve dans les annales: Vladimir le grand laissa après lui plusieurs fils et parents dont les plus renommés étaient Iaroslav, déjà sous-roi de Novogorod, Boris, Gliéb, le petit-fils Briatchislav de Polotsk et son neveu adopté Sviatopulk, qui, se trouvant précisément à Kiev, à la mort de son oncle, s'empara aussitôt du gouvernement." As Palteskia corresponds to the modern Polotsk, and as that city is on the Southern (or, as the Russians say, Western) Dvina, the lack of care in defining the position of the river in GHS is of a piece with its ignorance of the important city on it. In this connection it must not be forgotten that the names Hólmgarðr, Kaenugarðr, and Palteskja indicate the province as well as the capital or at least dominant city.

³⁵ See above note.

³⁶ In Ch. XXVIII, the expedition lands on the Dýna banks, and after a number of adventures they march inland, at the end of the chapter, without again setting sail.

³⁷ Sigldi Hrólfr af Danmörk austr til Hólmgarða (XXXVIII).

the Baltic, somewhere on the Austrvegr, and therefore we cannot deny that he may have considered it a part of Garðaríki, although his only mention of Kúrland gives us no indication of the relation of these lands. He knows the river Dýna, and that it flows into the Baltic, but does not know the important city of Palteskja, situated on this river. In the direction of the fabulous Southeast, and not inaccessible from Garðaríki, lie Jötunheim, in which is the city of Aluborg, and Tattara-riki. Between this land and Garðaríki, hostile relations are known to exist. A remote province of Garðaríki is Ermland; it is situated along the mountain-chain that separates Jötunheim from Hólmgarðaríki, and appears to have been nearer to Kaenugarð than the other two main divisions of the country.³⁸ That Heðinsey in the author's system of Geography, was connected with Garðaríki, has already been pointed out.

Far more complete than the account of Garðaríki is that given by GHS of another country, namely, Denmark. If the encyclopedic passage on the geography of Denmark were not so manifestly borrowed from the *Knyttlingasaga*, as will appear from the parallel passages in Appendix II, it would be of the greatest value in determining the author's geographical knowledge. A careful examination of the parallel columns will disclose the fact that the *Knyttlinga* passage is far more explicit than GHS; in fact there is only one short sentence in the GHS extract that is not distinctly based on a corresponding sentence in the *Knyttl.*, excepting, of course, the introductory sentence of the GHS passage, which furnishes the *raison d'être* for the interpolation of a discourse on Danish geography. The sentence referred to, following the words "í Vébjörgum", reads: "þar taka Danir konung sinn." But although the excerpt from the *Knyttl.*, in the Appendix, does not furnish us with a statement to correspond, it will not be difficult to find other sentences in the *Knyttl.* from which our author might easily have obtained the impression that "the Danes took (=elected) their king there." The most convincing single sentences in *Knyttl.* bearing on the electoral power of the Vébjarga þing are these: I. (Ch. 26) þeir báðir broeðr Knutr ok

³⁸ Ch. XXXVIII; see p. 70.

Haraldr sóttu nú til Jótlands, þvíat þar skyldi konung taka á Vébjarga þing; var þar allmikit fjölmenni; II. (Ch. 28) þá er Haraldr konungr var andaðr, attu Danir Vébjarga þing; þar skulu Danir sér konung taka jafnan á því þingi, at ráði allra landsmanna yfir allt Danaveldi; var þá Knutr til konungs tekinn; hann gjörðist bratt ríkr maðr ok stjórnsamr.³⁹ All that GHS XXXVII gives concerning the geography of Denmark, is taken from *Knytl.* XXXII, except one sentence, for which, however, there seems to be no reason to assign a source other than the *Knytl.* This saga has been studied much more thoroughly and critically than GHS, especially by Finnur Jónsson, and we are able to make use of his admirable discussion of the geographical passage in question.⁴⁰

Jónsson, who divides the *Knytl.* into three portions of unequal length, finds that the chapter on the geography of Denmark is contained in the middle portion (Chapters 26–28 and a few isolated chapters), which he regards as essentially the Saga of Knud the Holy.⁴¹ But although the chapter is a part of the saga, its character, according to Jónsson, is so absolutely different from that of the rest of Knud's saga, that Jónsson is unwilling to believe it to be the work of the same writer. He notices its decided similarity with the first and third sections of the *Knytl.*, according to his division. He does not doubt, therefore, that the author of *Knytl.*, himself, i. e., the author of parts I and III, inserted the discourse on the geography of Denmark. Probably Jónsson's note to the effect that the utilization of this discourse in GHS furnishes us with no premises for definite conclusions,⁴² should be taken as referring only to the conclusions concerning the age of *Knytl.*, as it is in connection with the date of composition of that saga that this note is given. But from the manner in which the author of GHS used the information obtained from

³⁹ Fms. XI, p. 216, p. 223.

⁴⁰ Finnur Jónsson, *Knytilingasaga, dens Kilder og historiske Vaerd.* Kgl. Danske. Vids. Sels. Skr., 1900. See Bibliography.

⁴¹ Wrongly cited by Mogk as the "Saga von Magnus dem Heiligen" (p. 818).

⁴² P. 41. Af den Omstaendighed, at kap. 32 findes i Uddrag i Göngu-Hrólfs saga, Kap. 37, kan intet med Bestemthed udledes.

Knytl., two things are clear: that he possessed knowledge of Denmark, and that he composed with artistic intent.

As to his knowledge of Denmark, it may be directly drawn from his own experience and travels or indirectly from books or oral information. As he omits the names of Mön and Falstr mentioned in the *Knytl.*, it is clear that he regarded them as small and comparatively unimportant. And the fact that he expands the reference to the numerous kingdoms of which the land was formerly composed, into a statement of the superiority of the Skjöldungs, for which there is no distinct parallel in the *Knytl.*, proves that he possessed information, not found in his source, concerning the mythical history of Denmark.

A detailed discussion of the changed designations of the points of the compass in the *Knytl.*, which changes have been followed in the GHS transcript, will be found in Jónsson's article mentioned above,⁴³ and as this is a matter that concerns *Knytl.* more closely than it does GHS, we refer the reader to Jónsson, emphasizing, in this connection, that it is to Jónsson that we owe our immunity from such errors as the one made in the *Sagabibliothek*,⁴⁴ where the contents of the geographical passage in GHS have been given as internal evidence in determining the age of GHS, a process that appears to be ridiculous now that we know that the passage in question is borrowed almost literally from another saga. Only from the manner in which the author of GHS neglects to use some of the material can we draw inferences, and these inferences do not fix the date of the saga, but touch upon the literary method of the author. We have just seen him suppress an unimportant detail, probably in accordance with the principle of selection, but we shall now behold him exercising this same privilege with the deliberate purpose of enhancing the artistic quality of the setting with which he wishes to provide his saga. I refer here to what is evident from even a cursory examination of the parallel quotations from *Knytl.* and GHS, namely, the

⁴³ *Kilder*, p. 35.

⁴⁴ From the fact that Roskilde is given as the capital of Sjaland, a position that it yielded to Copenhagen on the accession of Christopher the Bavarian, P. E. Müller, in *Sagabibl.* III, infers that GHS must have been written before the accession of that monarch.

suppression of the statistics regarding the number of churches in the dioceses of the various bishops (and the information that these capitals are also the seats of bishops, GHS also carefully refrains from borrowing), and the suppression of the statements as to the number of ships the king may levy in each province. Almost everything else in the long *Knytl* passage passes over into GHS, but these details are carefully omitted. In fact, not only the number, but even the very existence of the churches is concealed. Why? There seems to be but one answer. The author of GHS wanted to produce the impression that here was a real *fornaldarsaga*, in the literal sense, when the sorcerers still practiced seið and sang their effective charms, and when the only motive of action was the desire for aggression and resistance, for brave expeditions against the enemy, with much good fellowship and much fighting. He felt himself bound to omit any references to the Christianity with which he must of course have been familiar, in order to enhance the impression that he was presenting the reader with something genuinely old, antedating the introduction of Christianity by hundreds of years. Where he resists the natural desire to borrow and give himself an air of learning, he shows artistic intent. The manner, furthermore, in which the constituent elements of the saga have been selected, must also be taken as an indication of his intention to create a saga in which Christianity and the events of recent history play no part. But this subject has already been discussed in the chapter on the Materials and Sources of GHS.

Had all the information of geographical nature in Chapter XXXVII been put into the mouth of a character in the saga, we might find an amusing parallel in the grotesque remarks of Züs Bünzlin in Gottfried Keller's little story *Die drei gerechten Kammacher*. But as it is, the author has strung his bits of information on the string of his narrative with such nonchalance as to forget how absurd it is to add, at the end of the story, a geographical description of the countries in which many of the preceding incidents have taken place. He not only, at the end of a story partly enacted in Denmark, finds that he ought to say something about the country, but also

considers it desirable to preface this Danish material with a shorter but perhaps even more interesting account of England. In a work of the present day we should find such insertions inappropriate. But the sense for what was pleasurable and what was merely useful may have been less distinct in those days, and after all, many of the playgoers in Shakspeare's day may have enjoyed the historical information given in such a play as Henry VIII as much as its literary or dramatic qualities. It is not unlikely that the author of GHS, while trying to invest his story with a romantic atmosphere, also aimed to impart verisimilitude to it, by resorting even to statistics. Let us turn now to the short passage on the geography of England, which is given in full under "England" in the list of geographical names, Appendix III.

For this passage as a whole there is no correspondence in *Knytl.*, but as the first sentence of it makes a statement paralleled essentially, in *Knytl.*, and as the wording implies quotation from a source, borrowing from *Knytl.* is a fair inference. The passage from GHS begins as follows: "England er kallat gagnauðigast land af Vestrlöndum" and then proceeds to assign industrial and agricultural reasons for this wealth. *Knytl.*, on the other hand, does not say that England "is called" the richest country, but alleges this as a fact, as a subsidiary cause of Knut's great wealth, England being given in *Knytl.* as only one of several countries from which he took tribute. The closing words of the long introductory sentence of Ch. 19 *Knytl.* are: "Ok þó þat með at England er auðgast at lausafé allra Norðrlanda." The peculiar changes that GHS makes in the sentence, going so far as to convert "Allra Norðrlanda" (genitive) into "af Vestrlöndum" (dative), might be taken to be devices to cover up the borrowing, or as the unintentional result of an indistinct recollection of the original sentence. The specific details given by GHS concerning England's wealth (see under "England" in the list of geographical names) were evidently added, as already indicated above, to justify the assertion quoted from *Knytl.* But it would not follow that these details must therefore be at variance with the facts. That the industrial and agricultural

prowess of the English was recognized on the continent throughout the later Middle Ages, is amply attested by any thorough history of the times. Very distinct proofs that the English worked in metals, raised wheat, grew wines and imported them, manufactured their own cloths and appreciated superior foreign cloths, may be found throughout the first two volumes of Traill's *Social England*. I have been unable to find, in any of the other sagas, a passage of similar content concerning England, and perhaps the best that can be said at present regarding the origin of the information in GHS, is that it was a part of the common knowledge of the educated classes in Europe at that period. Some of the isolated English place-names, however, are surely taken from the *Knytl.*,⁴⁵ such as Lindisey, and, most unmistakably of all, "Asatun norðr frá Kanaskogum," a peculiar misquotation from *Knytl.*⁴⁶

⁴⁵ N. M. Petersen, *Haandbog i den gammel-nordiske Geografi*, p. 9.

⁴⁶ List of Geogr. Names, s. v. Asatun.

CHAPTER VII

GONGU-HRÓLFS RÍMUR

It is not surprising that many of the sagas should have been versified in *ríma* form. *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* has not escaped this treatment. Only two Mss. exist of these *rímur*, one at Copenhagen, in the Arna-Magnaean Collection, the other at Reykjavík, in the National Library. It was at first the intention of the present author to bring out a complete edition of these *rímur*, with a collation of the two MSS. and whatever critical material might be necessary. With this object in view, a copy of the Copenhagen MS. was prepared for the author by Mr. Matthias Þórðarson of Copenhagen, and compared with the Reykjavík MS. on Mr. Þórðarson's return to Iceland. A careful examination of this copy led to the opinion, confirmed by Professor Mogk in a letter to the author, that the literary and archaeological value of these *rímur* was so slight as scarcely to justify the great expense of printing them in full. Of the twenty *rímur* in the copy (the copy of the MS is now in the Library of Columbia University), one of the shorter and more animated ones is given below in full, with a rather close English translation. No part of this *ríma*, the *second* in the series, has ever before appeared in print, but the four introductory lines of the *first* *ríma* as well as the concluding sixteen lines of the *twentieth* have been quoted as specimens in Jón Þorkelsson's book on the poetry of Iceland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴⁷

Volume 2 of the *Katalog over den Arnamagnaanske Håndskriftsamling* describes the MS at Copenhagen as No. 1555, as follows: "AM 610 e-f, 4to. Pap. 17.5 × 15.1 cm. 60 bl. Sidevis paginering. Samme codex som foregående nummer, Bl. 57 ff ere beskadigede ved beskaering langs øvre og ydre margin.

⁴⁷ Om digtningen på Island i det 15. og 16. århundrede, Copenhagen, 1888, p. 153.

Efter bl. 56 forekommer en lakune. Göngu-Hrólfs rímur. Overskrift: firta göngu Hrolfs rýma. I alt 20."

A comparison with the events in the GHS to which the episodes in the following second ríma correspond, will show how faithfully the rímur have been made to agree with the original in the facts of the story. It would be difficult to avoid making the assumption that the writer had a copy or at least a skeleton outline of the saga before him while writing these rímur. In fact, it is extremely likely, to judge by the twenty-four lines which are here quoted, that there once existed and possibly now still exists, a set of rímur dealing with a phase of the saga material scarcely touched upon by the rímur in our MS. The wording of the following passage hardly admits of the interpretation that this earlier portion of the material may be equivalent to what we should call the substance of the Sturlaugssaga starfsama. On the other hand, it will seem clear on a reading of the short quoted passage, that the reference is to the war ensuing on Erik's invasion of Hreggvið's territory, and that the author of the Göngu-Hrólfs Rímur wishes to be set down as authority for the fact that this earlier portion of the material has been gotten up in rímur form by another person.⁴⁸

I

Mig hefur beðið vm mæðar síð
mylldr hiorffis steffne
þo hafa fyrðar framdann oð
framan aff þessu effne`

Me has asked for verses
a gentle man ;
yet there is an ode performed
of the first part of this subject.

2

Kunnað hefur hann kurteýst skil
kialars aff vjrtum hreynum

⁴⁸ This is not the proper place to discuss independent rímur versions of GHS by 19th century scholars; such will be found indexed in the Bibliographical Notes published as Supplements to the British Museum Catalogue by Willard Fiske, 1886-1907.

sa hefur grýpað sógunnar til
seggur í ýrstum greyðnum.

He has had favorable knowledge
of poetry ;
he has touched upon the story
in the first details.

3

Sa vill heýra sónar miet
saman í mælsku dýra
vm geymer þann er Hreggvið hiet
haffðe Górdum að stýra.

That one wishes to hear poetry
in a highly valued language
concerning that king called Hreggvið
(who) ruled Górdum.

4

Skal eg af þessu skýra fleýtt
en skunda of nýu fræðe
sóguna hefur hann saman reyrt
sýnu í riettu kuæðe.

I shall describe this quickly
and hasten to a new lore ;
the story he has compassed
in his faultless poem.

5

Leýnger ecke lioða spíall
leseð af eýðer fíalla
kueður hann glógt vm kongsens fall
og kíæra nauðgan alla.

Not lengthy is the ditty
compiled by the man ;
he recites clearly the king's death
and all the dear compulsion.

Skýlst hann þar við fræða fund
farið er sógunne valla
þvi skal gylldan golnes mund
górpum nýann spialla.

There he parts from the find of knowledge,
hardly is the story justice done.
Therefore a new song
shall be sung of the heroes.

It is only fair to Mr. Þórðarson, who made the copy of which the succeeding stanzas are an excerpt, to state that he is not responsible for the chaotic condition of the orthography. When Mr. Þórðarson made the copy of all the rímur in the MS. he was under the impression, as was the author of this volume, that the entire MS would be printed under his supervision, in Europe, and that constant reference to the original MS would be possible while the work was going through the press. In other words, a collation of the copy with the original, that now would involve correspondence and long delays, would then have proceeded simply as a matter of course. But the copy given here will give a very good idea of what is in the Gøngu-Hrólf's Rímur.

AUNNUR GÖNGU-HRÓLF'S RÝMA

I

Hjer skal renna af raddar þey
rögnis flaustur biartre meý
fange härs að fremia meður
fyrða ef það nockurn gleður.

Here to a fair maiden poetry shall start in,
from the silence of the voice
dealing with a man,
if it please any one.

2

Skalldenn vanda Mannsóng mest
meýstarliga í fræðum best

gieffst þeim þesse gafann hreyn
af græðara heýms í hygginn stein.

Poets take the greatest pains with
the Mansógn, in the best works;
this good fortune is given
by the healer of the world to their intellect

3

rausn og megn og raðeð greytt
Aðrer hliota megn eða matt
maleð sniallt eða vysku hatt
riett er slýkt aff drottne veitt.

Others receive might and strength
eloquence and great wisdom;
magnificence, power and ready counsel,
truly such is bestowed by the Lord.

4

Heýðnum riett sem christnum kann
kongur himna þetta vann
forðum veýta nær sem nu
er nýta hiełldu óngua tru.

To pagans just as to Christians
heaven's King these things
of yore as now did grant
to those who thought no faith needed.

5

Voru marger mecktar menn
menta rýker forðum senn
þeir sem gýrantust frægð að fá
folldu lýffs og dauðer a.

Many reputable men there were
highly learned in days of old,
those who desired to win fame
on earth or else die.

6

Hýrtu eý þo þrautenn þróngr
þreýngde lýfe hórð eða lóngr
fyrða studde frægða val
fliott aff einum greyna skal.

Care not though a hard task
impel your life hard or long;
great renown supported the men;
swiftly of one shall (I) relate.

7

Aður fiell þar oðurinn niður
yta Hrolffur barðist viður
fellede recke frægðarmann
furðu moaður var orðinn hann.

Before, the ode ceased there
where Hrolf fought the men;
the warrior slew a famous man
rather weary had he become.

8

Kuffle Atla kastar hann þa
kongson gjorðe þetta að tia
optar skal eg ecke hier
íllsku slýka hlíota aff þier.

Then he casts off Atli's cowl
and this the prince spoke:
again I shall not
such mischief get from thee.

9

Settist niður og sarenn batt
sýðan tok að ganga hratt
moaður næsta mörkum a
marga daga var ute þa.

Sat down and dressed his wounds
and then took to fast walking;

very tired, for many days
he was houseless in the wilderness.

10

Næfrum spentur niotur stalz
næsta sier og bak vm halz
klungur og hamra kongson rann
kappa öngua finnur hann.

The warrior clad in birch-bark
next to him and round his neck;
crag and rocks he ran over
and finds no man.

11

Fullann manuð for nu villt
fær hann ey a leyðum stýllt
þvi næst dro til býgða bratt
batnar vm ä nochurn hatt.

A full month he now went astray
and is unable to control his course;
then he rapidly drew near habitation,
matters now improve somewhat.

12

Þvi næst finnur breyða braut
býgðar lýstur minckar praut
elfe Gauta að kom framm
eirn sa flota dælugamm.

Thereupon he finds a broad road
bright with dwellings, lessens trials;
he came to the Elb of the Gauts
and saw a ship floating.

13

Þar var brýggia a land vpp lögð
lýðer munu þar kunna brögð
við enda hennar effdist glæður
ytum heýlsar kappenn skiaður.

There a bridge was joined to land;
there, it seems that folks know tricks;
at its end a fire burned;
the dangerous warrior greets the men.

14

Hóldar spurðu að heýte þegn
Hrolfur ansar slyku giegñ
Styganda ma kienna kall
kappenn suarar og eýkur spíall.
Men asked the man his name.
Hrolf answers to such
"Styganda you may call the churl"
the warrior replies and adds to speech.

15

Huor a að raða aulldu ál
ærið mun sä fær við stal
Jölgeýr neffndu nadda við
nær vill aungum biaða frið.
Who is it manages the ship,
quite able with the sword may he be;
Jölgeýr they called the man,
nigh no one will he spare.

16

I Sýllings dölum ætt hans er
allt hið sanna greýnum vier
honum mun gott að Hrolfur kuoð
heyður að þiggia og luta oð.
In Syllings dales is his ancestry
all truth do we relate;
to serve him replied Hrolf
may be good and bring honor.

17

Illur er hann og otrur með
ytar feingu þetta tieð

beserks hefur hann bol að sia
býta eingenn jarnenn a.

Wicked is he and treacherous too,
this the men did say ;
the body of a savage has he it seems,
no iron can bite him.

18

Attatýe hefur hann hier
holda tuenna nu með sier
oss hefur nauðgað aullum til
að auka með sier vópnaspil.

Twice eighty men has he here
at this time with himself ;
he has forced us all
to swell his fighting strength.

19

Alluel skiemta ýtar mier
ansar Hrolfur og burttu fer
vt a skeýð sa ýta vinnur
epter þetta Jölgeýr finnur.

Quite well do you amuse me
replied Hrolf and departs ;
he goes aboard, the men being willing,
and thereupon finds Jölgeýr.

20

Kongson heýlsar Rauða a
kýnia digur er hann að sia
hylmer spurðe að heýte kund
hinn sem geymde falska lund.

The prince greets the rascal,
very stout did he appear ;
the churl who keeps a crooked mind,
asks the prince's name.

21

Sagðe hann honum sem holdar heýt
 hier næst mællte kiempann teýt
 eg vil ga með yður i lið
 ætla og hier goðan sið.

He told him his name;
 then the bold warrior spoke
 "I wish to enlist with you,
 such I consider a good plan."

22

Eingenn lýst mier þöcke a pier
 þo þu vilier fylgia mier
 ef ecke sparer illsku verk
 oss ma fylgia kiempann sterk.

It seems to me no cause for thanks
 though you wish to follow me;
 if you do not spare evil deeds
 the strong warrior may follow us.

23

Þessu jatar þeyngilz uið
 því næst gieck með honum i lið
 hiełldu sýðan a glamma grund
 garpar þegar i samre stund.

This the man accepts
 and thereupon joins his troops;
 then the same hour the warriors
 went forth campaigning.

24

Halurenn tok að heria þa
 haðe marga randa ga
 kauðenn rænte kurska þioð
 kugaðe aff þeim margann sioð.

The chieftain then took to harrying,
 many a battle did he wage;

the rascal plundered the Kursk nation;
from them he extracted great treasures.

25

Illa for með hernað helldur
huorcke dāð nie sæmder velldur
bændur ræna og kaupmenn kann
kynge fullur illsku mann.

Rather cruelly did he carry on war,
neither valour nor honor rules;
peasants and merchants rob
the man full of wickedness can.

26

Hrolfe var eý vm soddann sið
seggium veyter eý þar til lið
varð því ecke vingan goð
veýtt aff Jölgeýr hiornarioð.

Hrolf did not like such conduct
and does not assist in that;
therefore there was not good friendship
accorded the prince by Jölgeýr.

27

Þotte Hrolfur latur og leýður
i lundu fār og sialldan greýður
hann kom alldri i randa rig
þa reckar þurfftu að veria sig.

He thought Hrolf lazy and odious
sluggish and seldom willing;
he never came to battle
when the men needed to defend themselves.

28

Lyðsmenn aller loffðungs kund
leýffðu þratt aff katre lund
þagu aff honum goss og gull
giorðist með þeim vingan full.

All the comrades, in spite of that,
bore the prince gladly;
accepted from him goods and gold;
between them ripened full friendship.

29

Seggjum þannenn sumarið leið
sýna fa þeir hlaðna skeyð
ætlað sýðan hallda heim
halurenn með þann dýra seim.

Thus the men passed the summer
and get their ship laden;
then intends to go homeward
the man with that precious treasure.

30

Eitt sinn var su ötlun giorð
atte Hrolfur að hallda vorð
a lande þar sem lau þeir
lýða sueyt og hirttu geýr.

One time a plan was designed.
Hrolf was to keep watch
on land where they lay;
the troops and the leader.

31

Loksins tok að lýða a nott
lamde vm veðreð yfrið vott
Hrolfur for að huýla sig
hefur so bokinn fræddann mig.

At last night came,
the weather raged violently.
Hrolf went to rest himself,
thus the book has informed me.

32

Kapu vefur vm höffuð hann
huorge aðra betre fann

Vefreðu sege eg vænann naut
vellalundurinn þar með hraut.

The coat he wraps around his head,
nowhere did he find a better one,
the good Vefreðunaut I say,
there upon the warrior snored.

33

Jölgeyr vaknar morne með
misiaffnt haffðe stundum gieð
klæddist skiott og kom a land
kundinn hiełt a nócktum brand.

Jölgeyr awakes at morn ;
uneven at times was his mood,
dressed quickly and came ashore,
the rascal held a naked sword.

34

Kemur þar að sem kongson la
kýnia reyður var hann þa
höggur offan a miðjann mann
i miðiu hýgst að sneýða hann.

Comes to the place where lay the prince,
rather angry was he then ;
strikes on the middle of the man,
in two he has in mind to cut him.

35

Kongsýne hlýffðe kapann þar
kund að eige broddurinn skar
holld og beýn sem horffðist a
Hrolfur gorðe að vakna þa.

There the coat protected the prince
so that the rascals sword did not cut
flesh and bone as seemed likely ;
then Hrolf did awake.

36

Vuða teinn í annað sinn
 aulans reyðde höndinn stinn
 hýgst að snýða hóffuðið braut
 hardla skiott aff randa gaut.

The sword a second time
 the boor's strong hand raised;
 he has in mind to hew the head
 very swiftly off the man.

37

Kongson þa a kauðann hliop
 kynge fra eg hann mestan glop
 af mýklu affle a mote þreyf
 af mylldings arffa klæðinn reyf.

The prince then ran on the rascal,
 I describe him the biggest baboon;
 with great strength he grappled
 and tore off the man's clothes.

38

Geingust þeir með grimmleik að
 garpa sueytinn horffðe a það
 skackaðe eingenn skatna leik
 skreffaðist býða folldinn bleik.

They wrestled ferociously,
 the band of warriors looked on,
 none meddled with the game of the heroes;
 in many places the bleak earth shook.

39

Berserk þesse trýllast tekur
 týggja arffann výða hrekur
 þartil holdar hriota í kaff
 hamre einum burtu aff.

This savage becomes furious
 and drives the prince here and there

until both men plunge
off a crag.

40

ýmser vrðu vnder þa
ero þeir komner lande fra
dreýngium hiell við druckna mest
dugðe huor sem kunne best.

Alternately would they then be under ;
now they have come out from the shore ;
the heroes guarded most against drowning,
each one lasted the best he could.

41

Langa stundu vm laxamið
liekust þannenn garpar við
vns að leyð að lande bar
lóffðungs arffinn stendur þar.

A long time for a winning turn
the warriors thus played,
until at last they neared land ;
the prince now there stands.

42

Jölgeyr eige naðe niður
nu tok honum að leýkast miður
haus i lýnda Hrolfur greyp
höfðuð fæðe i karffa sueyp.

Jölgeyr did not reach to the bottom,
now he began to be less pleased ;
Hrolf seizes him around the waist
and brought his head under water.

43

Geýspa tok sa glymde ver
gaurenn hlaut að druckna hier
logs so skylde lýða fund
loddarinn hitte dauða stund.

He who wrestled worse took to yawning,
 the rascal was bound to drown here;
 finally the meeting of the men ended thus:
 that the scoundrel met his hour of death.

44

Söck þar niður til grunna grier
 gramson þegar að landi fer
 stýrður næsta stolltarmann
 aff stundu talar við lyðe hann.

Sank there to the bottom.
 The prince goes to the shore,
 very stiff the hero,
 forthwith speaks with the men.

45

Þier munuð vilja þiona mier
 þannenn talaðe vellagrier
 launa mier so liðsemd þa
 leyste eg ýður anauð fra.

You probably want to serve me,
 thus the warrior spoke;
 and so reward my assistance
 in liberating you from the oppression.

46

Aller jata einum munn
 ætt hans var þeim sýðan kunn
 meinge og skeýðer millding fieck
 mun honum verða frægðinn þeck

All accept with one accord,
 his ancestry was then known to them.
 A throng of warriors and silver the prince got;
 fame, we may believe, will be kind to him.

47

Görpum veytte grævis eim
 geýmer hialma höndum tueim

Jolgeýrs sparðe ecke auð
ýtum þotte horffinn nauð.

The warrior gave out the gain
to the men with both hands;
he did not spare Jolgeýr's wealth;
the men felt oppression vanished.

48

Hrolfur hiełt ä havahöll
og haðe marga randa göll
eingenn stoð við oddafrey
ýta kænska i vopna þey.

Hrolf directed his course to sea
and waged many a battle;
no one's skill could hold out
against the warrior in a combat.

49

Jaffnann sigur og sæmder hlaut
suerða viður i huorre þraut
aff ýtum fieck hann fiar
vte þannenn sumarið går.

Always victory and fame
the warrior won in every trial;
from the men he got property;
thus the summer passed.

50

Þa rieð hætta hiorffa vind
hitter gullz a sigluhind
arffe Sturlugs auðnu frekur
epter þetta Jutland tekur.

Then decided to stop sailing
on the ship the finder of gold;
the son of Sturlug in good luck
after that arrives in Jutland.

51

þar ríð firir þorgnýr jall
þannenn greyner vísna spíall
kurt og heyður aff kongum þar
katur og ör vit garpa var.

There ruled earl þorgnýr
so the ditty relates;
in courtesy and honor he excelled other kings,
cheerful and liberal with men was he.

52

Styllers arffenn Steffner hiet
stalinn vǵða brotna liet
fínt þar ecke frægre dreýngur
framm í list og soma geingur.

The king's son's name was Steffner,
far and wide he let the swords break;
a more famed hero is not found there,
preeminent is he in skill and honor.

53

Sa var hýlmer harla rýkur
huorge fanst þa annar slýkur
aður lyffðe aff æskuskeyð
ellenn röckte hiörffa meiß.

That king was very rich;
nowhere was there another such to be found;
already he had lived off his youth
and was in the twilight of old age.

54

Biörn skal neffna buðlungz mann
bragning íaffnan trvskap vann
syðar kemur hann soguna við
sa var kíænn við randa klíð.

Biörn shall be named the king's man
who always served the king faithfully;

later he comes to the story,
skilled was he in war.

55

Hrolfur so sem hermer spiall
hitta giorðe rykann jall
ætt og hejte inte bratt
auðling tok því varla fatt.

Hrolf as the report goes
did meet the rich earl;
ancestry and name he quickly made known;
this the king took not with indifference.

56

Sæmd og heyður siola biður
sueiger stalz og randaviður
vyser skýllde veria lönd
voldugum gieck hann jarle ä hönd.

Honor and respect offers to the king
the warrior and hero,
in order to protect the lands
he subordinates himself to the earl.

57

Kastala helldur kiempann tru
með jarle var hann i kjarleik nu
aunguan atte aufundar mann
arffe kongz i stylers vann.

The true hero holds the castle;
now he was greatly loved by the earl;
none was there who bore him a grudge;
the prince worked to the earl's success.

58

Steffner fra eg og stylers nið
sterkann kjarleýk bundust við
frömdu margann fleýna slag
festu sýðan bræðralag.

Steffner, I say, and the prince
 became bound by strong love;
 many a battle they waged,
 then joined in a fraternal affinity.

59

Leyð so framm hið fyrsta ár
 fylcker þionar kappenn har
 allt til það að efdist stýr
 aff ilsku þyðe jallrinn spir.

Thus passed the first year;
 the tall warrior serves the earl
 right until there rose a stir;
 the earl hears of a nefarious band.

60

Sa hiet Tryggue tiorua grier
 trýlldann haffðe kappenn her
 Suenskur var hann að allre ætt
 oss hefur þannenn bokinn frætt.

That man's name was Tryggue;
 a furious army the warrior had;
 a Swede he was by all his ancestry,
 thus the book has informed us.

61

Annar með honum aulinn var
 ecke fra eg hann skarte þar
 Vase hinn ille vomurinn hiet
 výrða marga stuta liet.

Another scoundrel was with him,
 I call him not good looking,
 Vase the evil was the boor's name;
 many a man he killed.

62

Tigge haffðe Trýggua feður
 tæmdann lýffe i fleýna veður

það vill heffna kýngekall
krapplundaður vit þorgnýr jall.

The earl had Tryggva's father
killed in a battle;
this the crafty churl wants to avenge
pugnaciously on earl þorgnýr.

63

Brende hann vöða brugnings hauður
bragna deýðer rænist auður
þeir sem suerðið syniar fallz
socktu traust til þorgnýrs jallz.

Far and wide he burned the earl's lands,
kills men and plunders property;
those who are concerned
place their trust in earl þorgnýr.

64

Bio þa jarlenn bragna lið
bysla skiott i randa klið
stolltum fylgia Steffner og Hrolff
stælltann baru vindakolf.

Then the earl makes ready his army
very quickly for the battle,
the proud Steffner and Hrolf they follow
bearing the haughty standards.

65

Bræður þegar buenn er þioð
brognum hielldu i randa gioð
berserkia ey biluðu hót
braðliga komu þeir i mot.

The brothers when the army is ready
lead it into battle;
the savages' threats did not weaken;
swiftly they are coming against them.

Flæðar essum fundust a
fyrðar huover aðra sia
tyrs skal þannenn tanna lóg
tæma og geýma börnum mióg.

They met on some islands;
the men see each other;
thus the divine laws shall be dented,
emptied and preserved for the children.

APPENDIX I

THE VOCABULARY AND STYLE OF GHS

Concerning the vocabulary of GHS, two widely divergent opinions have been by scholars of the highest authority, at an interval of half a century. The earlier opinion is that of C. C. Rafn, who regarded the style as unusually pure.¹ The later is that of E. Mogk, who regards the foreign influence as evident not only in motivation, but also in vocabulary.² An examination of the vocabulary discloses a large number of unmistakable foreign words, and of others that may be foreign, all of which have been collected in a list to accompany this appendix. An inspection of this list shows that a large proportion of these words comes from Ch. XXXVII, especially that part devoted to the marriage feast.⁴ Here we meet with a number of courtly terms for which classical Icelandic has of course no equivalent. On the other hand such common words borrowed from the Latin, as "náttúra" (which occurs in the Preface to the *Snorra Edda*, in the *Njála*, and other well known works), call for no special notice as signs of foreign influence. A few proper names are also foreign in form, and therefore also appear in the list, e. g., Dulcifal, Vilhjálmr. Attention is called to the term "loan translation", introduced in connection with the word "hofmaðr".³ CV=*Cleasby and Vigfusson*, and "solus" means that the only quotation given in CV is from GHS, although the references in that book are only to *Fas* III (first edition, of course), by page.

¹ *Ant. rus.* I, 223f. (1850) Du reste la saga de Gaungu-Rolf se distingue par un langage très pur et par une certaine habileté dans la conception du plan.

² *Grundriss*, II, 849, 1903) . . . die Saga, die nicht nur in den Motiven den Geist der Ritterdichtung, . . . sondern auch in dem Wortschatz stark den fremdländischen Einfluss zeigt.

⁴ The prevalence of the present participle in several of the sentences of this description of the wedding must also be taken as a purely foreign mannerism, probably a Latin influence.

³ Fritz Mauthner, *Die Sprache*, Frankfurt a. M., 1906, p. 53.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF WORDS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN IN
GÖNGU-HRÓLFSSAGA

buðkr, *box for herbs and balsams*, Ger. böttich, only in cpd. smyrslabuðkr XXXV. Cpd. solus CV 572.

burgeiss, Fr. bourgeois, but originally of Teutonic origin, from burg; only in plur. burgeysar XXVII. Solus CV 86.

burtreið, *tournament*, cpd. of burt, Fr. bohourt, *Chaucer* bord.

burtstong, *lance used in tournament*, see burtreið.

dromedarius, only in gen. pl. dromedariorum I, not in CV.

Dulcifal, passim. Gröndal (Formáli) and Jónsson (p. 802) have noted similarity with Bucephalus.

figúra, *tala í figúru*, XXV.

greifi, XXXVII, Ger. graf. This ON form, as well as the Middle Engl. grefe, are from MLG greve, according to Weigand 1909.

haeverskr, Ger. höfisch, from MHG hovesch, acc. to CV. Only in nom. pl. haeverskir XXXVII.

hofmaðr, only in nom. pl. hofmenn XXXVII. If from MHG hofman, this use of hof and maðr in cpd. would be an excellent example of loan-translation.

jungfrú, XXXVII. Not a loan-translation, but probably direct from MHG juncfrouwe or from a corresponding MLG form.

junker, only in nom. pl. junkerar XXXVII. MLG junker.

jurt, only in dat. pl. jurtum XXXVII. *Root, spice*, from OHG wurz. J for w, as v cannot be sounded in ON before u. The ON word later became urt.

kastali, passim. Lat. castellum.

kista, XXIII. Like "chest", the Engl. equivalent, from Lat. cista.

kistill, in acc. pl. kistla XXI. Diminutive of kista, q. v.

klaret, XXXVII.

konstr, from Ger. *kunst* in the sense of device, trick, or Old Frisian *konst*. Solus CV 350.

kuklaraskapr, Intr. to C (see MSS). *Jugglery, deception*.

From some older form of Ger. gaukel, which in turn from Lat. ioculari. CV cites Eddic kukl.

kurteyss V, kurteisust (superlative) I. OF courtois.

léo, I, lion. Lat. leo; there is also a more naturalized form

ON ljón, which does not occur in GHS.

meistari, I, XXV. Lat. magister or OHG meistari, MHG meisteri, which also from Lat. (Weigand 1910).

Menelauss, frequently in XVII.

náttúra, passim.

páfugl, only in dat. pl. páfuglum, XXXVIII. Not from HG, as initial was there already shifted, but from Lat. pāvō or AS pea, pawa; all originally Lat.

piment, XXXVII, a *spice*. MHG pimente. Low Lat. pigmentum.

pípa, only in nom. pl. pípur XXXVII. From the Lat. perhaps through the Fr.

réttr, XXXVII, and in the example CV 495 II: "en er hirðin hafði kent fyrsta rétt", which is also from GHS. CV's assumption that it really means "what is reached," seems less reasonable than "what is prepared, made right" (from rétta, like Ger. Gericht from richten); or, loanword from Gericht.

riddari, dat. pl. riddurum XXX, acc. pl. riddara XXXIII, in cpd. riddaralið XXX. In the sense of Ger. Ritter as well as Reiter. Most -ari nouns are foreign; this undoubtedly Ger.

salterium, XXXVII, a *musical instrument*, CV. Greek ψαλτηριον.

simphon, XXXVII, a *musical instrument*. Lat. symphonia.

skarlatsbunaði, XXV, *dressed in scarlet*. In CV, skarlat is given as foreign. Weigand 1910 gives a MHG variant scharlat (scharlach) from Low Lat. scarlatum.

Vilhjálmr, passim.

APPENDIX II

PARALLEL PASSAGES OF GHS AND KNYTLINGASAGA

(On the Geography of Denmark. For discussion see p. 72.)

Knytlingasaga
(Chapter 32 complete; Frá
Landsskipan í Danmörk)

Göngu-Hrólfs saga
(Conclusion of Chapter 37)

3. Danmörk er mikit ríki, ok liggr mjök sundrlaust; hinn mesti hlutr Danmerkr heitir Jótland, þat liggr hit syðra með hafinu; þar er hinn synzti biskupsstóll í Danmörk í Heiðabae, ok er í þeim biskupsdóm hálftr fjórða hundrat kirkna, en 100 ok 30 skipa konúgi. Annarr biskupsstóll er á Jótlandi, þar er heitir í Rípum, í því biskupsríki eru 4 kirkjur ok 20 ok 300, en 11 tigur skipa konúgi til rítboðs. Þriði biskupsstóll er á Jótlandi, er heitir í Árósi, í því biskupsríki eru 200 kirkna ok 10, en konúgi 9 tigur skipa. Fjórði biskupsstóll er á Jótlandi, er heitir á Vébjörgum, í því biskupsríki eru 200 kirkna ok 50, en konúgi 100 skipa. Lima-fjörðr heitir á Jótlandi, þat er mikill fjörðr, hann gengr af útnorðri til suðrs; ur norðanverðum Limafirði er

37. . . . Stefni var gefit jarlsnafn yfir alt Jótland, ok sat hann oftast í Rípum. Danmörk er mjök sundrlaus, ok er þar Jótland mestr hluti ríkis. þat liggr et syðra með hafinu;*

I Jótlandi eru margir hofuðstaðir;
syðst í Heiðabae,
annarr í rípum,

þriði í Árósi,

fjórði í Vébjörgum; þar taka Danir konung sinn.

Limafjörðr er á Jótlandi; hann gengr af norðri til suðrs, enn í innanverðum firðinum gengr

* See note on next page.

mjótt eið vestr til hafs, er heitir Haraldseið, þar lét Haraldr konúgr Sigurðarson draga yfir skip sín, þá er hann komst undan Sveini konúgi. Fyrir vestan Limafjörð er þat ríki, er heitir Vendelsskagi, ok víkr til Norðraettar, þar er hinn 5ti biskupsstóll í Danmörk í þeim stað er heitir í Jorungi; í því biskupsríki eru 100 kirkna ok 60 kirkna, en fimm tigr skipa konúgi. ¹Jótlandssiða heitir allt vestan frá Vendilsskaga ok suðr til Rípa. Millum Jótlands ok Fjóns gengr Meðalfararsund. Á Fjóni er hinn 6ti biskupsstóll í Danmörk í Óðinsey; í því biskupsríki eru 300 kirkna, en 10 tigr skipa konúgi. Milli Fjóns ok Sjólands gengr Beltissund. Í Sjólandi er hinn 7di biskupsstóll í Danmörk í Róiskeldu; í Sjólands biskupsdaemi eru 400 ok 11 kirkjur, en 100 ok 20 skip konungi. Fyrir norðan Eyrarsund liggr Skáney ok Halland. Á Skáney er erkibiskupsstóll í Lundi, sá er hinn 8di biskupsstóll í Danmörk; í því biskupsdaemi er hálftr fjórða 100 kirkna ok 3 kirkjur, en hálftr annat 100 skipa konúgi; sá

Haraldseið vestr til hafsins; þar lét Haraldr konungr Sigurðarson draga yfir skip sín, þá hann fór undan ófriði Sveins konungs. Fyrir vestan Limafjörð liggr Vandilsskagi; honum víkr til norðraettar; í Jorungi er þar hofuðstaðr.

¹Jótlandssiða er kǫlluð vestan frá hafinu, norðan af Vandilsskaga ok suðr til Rípa. Milli Jótlands ok Fjóna gengr inn Alfasund. Á Fjóni er hofuðstaðr í Óðinsey.

Milli Fjóna ok Sjólands gengr Beltissund. Í Sjólandi er hofuðstaðr í Róiskeldu.

Fyrir norðan Sjóland gengr inn Eyrarsund ok þar fyrir norðan Skáney;

þar er hofuðstaðr í Lundum.

¹ This is the only passage in the GHS excerpt that is not borrowed in the correct (i. e., original) order. It is here given, not in the place in which it is found in GHS, but opposite the corresponding passage in Knytl.

er biskupsstóll ríkastr í Danmörk. Millum þessara landa Jótlands ok Skáni liggja mörg stór eylönd, þau er eigi eru áðr nefnd. Sámsey er undir Árósbiskup. Hlèsey undir Vébjarga biskup; þær liggja vestr frá Fjóni. Álsey er undir Heiðabæ. Láland, Erri Þjórslundr, Álsey Langaland: þessar 5 eyjar eru undir biskup á Fjóni. Mön ok Falstr eru undir biskup á Sjólandi. Borgundarholmr liggr austr í hafit frá Skáney; þat er mikit ríki ok liggr undir biskup á Skáney; þar eru 12 konungsbú ok 14 kirkjur. Þessi lönd, er nu voru nefnd, liggja undir Danakonúng, ok eru þau bæði víð ok fjölmenn. Voru þessi lönd at fornu margra konúnga ríki.

Milli Jótlands ok Skáneyjar liggja mörg stór eylönd; þar er Sámsey, Álsey, Láland, Langaland;

Borgundarholmr liggr austr í hafit.

Höfðu Skjöldungar í þenna tíma þetta ríki, enn þó höfðu aðrir konungar ok jarlar ekki minna ríki at ráða enn þeir í Danmörk, þótt Skjöldungar bærrí haerri tígn fyrir sakir nafns ok aettar.

APPENDIX III

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ALL GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES OCCURRING IN *GÖNGU-HRÓLFSAGA*

Many of these names occur only in the description of Denmark in GHS XXXVII, and are therefore borrowed from the *Knytl.* (see App. II); this fact is indicated by the letters *Knytl.* after the name. In the case of the more important names, such as those, for instance, that enter into the discussion in the chapter on Geography, reference is made to the pages where they are treated. Where E. Magnusson has listed the same names in the 6th vol. of the *Saga Library* (Heimskringla, vol. IV, London, 1905), that fact is emphasized by the letters *SaLib.* The anglicized name used by Magnusson will be found in Index II of *SaLib.* All the geographical names occurring in GHS are given here, but not all the references to them in the saga are recorded, many being unilluminative and unessential. Page references are to the present work unless otherwise stated. Roman numbers are GHS chapters unless otherwise indicated.

Aldeigjuborg, pp. 59-61, XIII, XXX.

The name occurs only twice in GHS, in spite of Liljegren's assertion: "Ibland andra orter uti detta rike (Holmgard) förekommer i synnerhet Jarlsätet Aldejoborg ganska ofta uti våra sagor", which is quite true, however, for the *Saga af Halfdani Eysteinssyni*, extracts from c. 2, 6-7, 11, and 15 of which, concerning this city and that of Aluborg (q. v.), are reprinted in *Ant. rus. SaLib.* Aldeigia.

Alfasund, *Knytl.*

Álsey, *Knytl.*

Aluborg, XXXIV, í Jötunheimum. See Aldeigjuborg. Not the Alaborg of *Salib* (in Denm.).

Áróð, XXXIV. That the author knew it was possible to sail

from Garðaríki to Denmark without leaving the ship, is shown by the words: létu eigi fyrr, enn þeir komu til Danmerkr í Áróð. *SaLib*: Riveroyce 2.

Asatun, XXXVI: Asatun norðr frá Kanaskogum; but the *Knytl.*, whence this probably comes, has: Asatun norðr frá Danaskogum.

Austrríki, I. *SaLib*: Eastlands, East-realm, Eastway, East-countries. See Tattararíki.

Austrvegr, VI, same as Austrríki (q. v.): aetlar hann nú í hernað í Austrveg.

Beltissund, *Knytl.*

Borgundarholmr, *Knytl.* *SaLib*: Borgund-holm.

Brandfurðaborg, XXXVII, also Brandifurða XXXV.

Danmörk, XXXVII, from *Knytl.* See App. II. *SaLib*: Denmark.

Dungalsbaer XXXV.

Dýna, I, XXVIII. Not the Dwina of *SaLib*.

Eiðuskog VI, *SaLib*: Eidshaw, Eidwood. See p. 64; also Lilj. 233f.

England XXXVII: er kallat gagnauðigast land af Vestrlöndum því þar er blásinn allr málmr, ok þar fellr hveiti ok vín, ok allskonar sæði má þar hafa; eru þar ok klaeði gerð ok margháttaðir vefir meir enn í öðrum stöðum. Lundúnaborg er þar höfuðstaðr ok Kantaraberg, þar er Skarðaborg ok Helsingjaborg, Víncestr ok margir aðrir staðir ok borgir, er hér eru eigi nefndir. See Vestrland. *SaLib*: England.

Ermland III, XXXVIII. See p. 72. As it was a remote portion of Garðaríki, the inhabitants were reputed to practice witchcraft.

Eyrarsund, *Knytl.*

Fenidi, not in either printed ed. of Fas. Lilj. (p. 137), undoubtedly following a Stockholm Ms., has, "Jöt-Ulf Hermader, en stark kämpe, ättad ur Fenidi," which he annotates p. 263. GHS XXX gives the name of the man as Ali, but not the place-name.

Fjón, *Knytl.*

flaemskr IX. Hrafn and Krákr declare themselves to be

"flaemskir at aett." The corresponding noun Flaemingjaland does not occur.

Frisland IX. *SaLib*: Frisland. Vilhj.'s false story: "ek er son jarls eins or Frislandi, ok varð ek þaðan landflótti, því ríkit var svíkit undan mér af sjálfum landsmönnum (XIV)."

Garðaríki, passim, esp. I and XXXVIII. *SaLib*: Garthrealm, Garths. It is noteworthy that the author of GHS never mentions the people as such, and therefore never has occasion to use the adjective *gerzkr*.

Gautland við Gautelfi VI. *SaLib*: Gautland, Gautelf.

Gestrekaland II. Þat liggr undir Sviakonung. See Svíþjóð. *Haraldseiß, Knytl*.

Heðinsey XVII. See p. 69. "Svá er sagt, at milli Garðaríkis liggr ey ein, er Heðinsey heitir; hún er eitt jarlsríki. Þat er fróðra manna sagn, at Heðinn konungr Hjarandason taeki fyrst land við þá ey, er hann sigldi til Danmerkr af Indialandi; ok þaðan tók eyin af honum nafn síðan." For Heðinn Hjarandason see *Skaldskaparmál*, c. 49. Heðinsey in *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II* (*Völsungakviða in forna*), 23. Heðinn's trip from Serkland to Denmark (Serkland = Indialand) is represented as having been instigated by the sorceress Gøndull in *Sǫrla þáttur* (= Heðins saga ok Högna), Fas. vol. I, c. VI, but nowhere in the saga is an island mentioned. See Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, Vol. I, p. 554, for a conjecture as to the meaning of Serkland.

Heiðabae, Knytl.

Helsingjaborg, see England. It is hard to believe that there was a town of that name in England. Helsingjaland (*SaLib*: Helsingland) and its inhabitants the Helsingjar (CV) are elsewhere always associated with Sweden. Neither of these two names is found in GHS.

Hlésey II. Of þórðr: var kallaðr Hléseyjarskalli, mikill ok sterkr; hann var aettaðr ór Hléseyju í Danmörku. The island has ocean tides: Gróa völvu hafði fundit hann í flaeðarmáli í Hlésey.

Hólmgarðaríki I. *SaLib*: Holmgarth. Used in Ch. I as synonymous with Garðaríki.

- Hólmgarðr XXXVIII.** See Garðaríki and p. 71.
- Hringaríki IV: í Noregi.** *SaLib*: Ringrealm.
- Indíaland XVII.** See quotation under Heðinsey.
- Írland IV.** *SaLib*: Ireland. See Chapter IV (Sources I) under *Sturlaugssaga starfsama*.
- Jörung, Knytl.**
- Jötunheim XXXVIII,** see p. 72.
- Kanaskógr,** see Asatun.
- Kúrland,** see p. 71.
- Láland, Knytl.**
- Langaland, Knytl.**
- Límafjörðr, Knytl.**
- Lindisey XXXV.** In the opinion of GHS, an island off the English coast. See p. 27.
- Lund, Knytl.**
- Lundúnaborg,** see quotation under England.
- Móraði XXXV,** in Scotland.
- Norðrland XXXVII.** All the luxuries to be found in the "North" were provided for the marriage-feast. *SaLib*: Northlands, North Countries.
- Noregr,** see Hringaríki. *SaLib*: Norway.
- Óðinsey, Knytl.**
- Rípum, Knytl.**
- Róiskeld, Knytl.**
- Sámsey, Knytl.**
- Skáney, Knytl.**
- Sjáland, Knytl.**
- Skarðaborg,** see quotation under England.
- Skotland XXXV:** an ally of England; at the end of the battle described in XXXVI, *Skotar ok Englismenn* are put to flight.
- Svíaríki VI.** *SaLib*: Sweden. But why might not the appellation *Svíþjóð* hin mikla eða hin kalda be considered simply as a recognition of the fact that Swedes (Varangians) ruled Garðaríki (see p. 56), instead of assuming, as Magnusson does, that the word is merely a corruption of Scythia? *Sviakonung II.* See Gautland, Gestrekaland, Sylgisdal, Tiundaland, Vermaland. Of these, only Gaut-

land receives special notice: þar eru menn sterkir ok þurslegir, harðir ok illir viðreignar ok fjölkunnigir (II).

Svíþjóð XXVIII. See Svíaríki.

Sylgisdal VI: í Svíaríki. Lilj., p. 234.

Tattararíki XVII. See p. 69. Just preceding the passage quoted under Heðinsey, we read: Tattararíki er eitt kallat mest ok gullauðgast í Austrríki. Þar eru menn storir ok sterkir ok harðir til bardaga. Undir Menelaus konung lágu margir konungar ok mikilsháttar menn. The adjective denoting the people occurs three times in XVIII, which is rather striking in view of what has been said on this point under Garðaríki, q. v. They are not more closely characterized, however, and when their king is killed, take to flight, as other nations do in the sagas. It is peculiar that the name of this fabulous people did not tempt the author of GHS to make literary material of their qualities.

Tíundaland, not in *Fas.*, but Lilj., in his translation of Ch. VIII (Lilj., p. 36), adds after the first mention of Wase (Vazi), "och denne var ättboren i Tiondaland i Svea Rike." *SaLib*: Tenthland.

Vermaland VI. Hrólfr surmises that the men he has killed came from Vermaland on a hunt or in search of Atli Ótryggsson. See p. 64. *SaLib*: Vermaland.

Vestrland, see quotation under England. *SeLib*: Westlands. Apparently never meaning more than the British Isles; therefore, in the quotation under England, that country is said to be the most prosperous *in the British Isles*.

Vandilsskagi, *Knytl.*

Vébjörg, *Knytl.*

Víncest XXXV. Apparently a capital: ok hafði atsetu í borg þeirri, er V. heitir. XXXVI: Foru þeir Haraldr nú til Víncestuborgar, . . . var hann nú til konungs tekinn yfir alt þat ríki, sem faðir hans hafði átt. See quotation under England. *SaLib*: Winchester. Petersen (p. 9): Víncest, der i den fabelagtige Saga (GHS), ringere kunde det ikke vaere, gjøres til en Hovedstad.

Vindland XXVIII, a strong ally of Jarl Þorgnýr. *SaLib*: Wendland.

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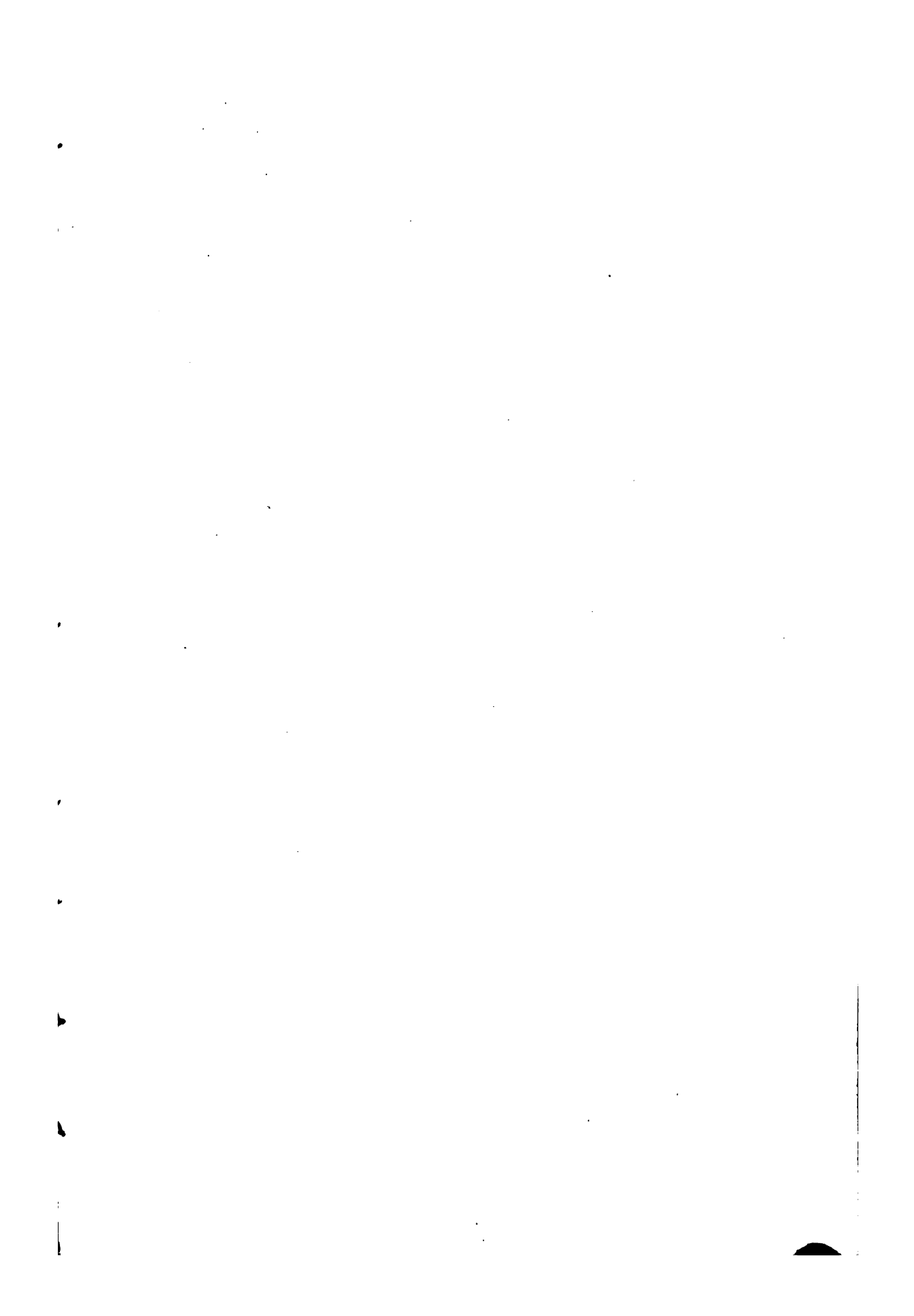
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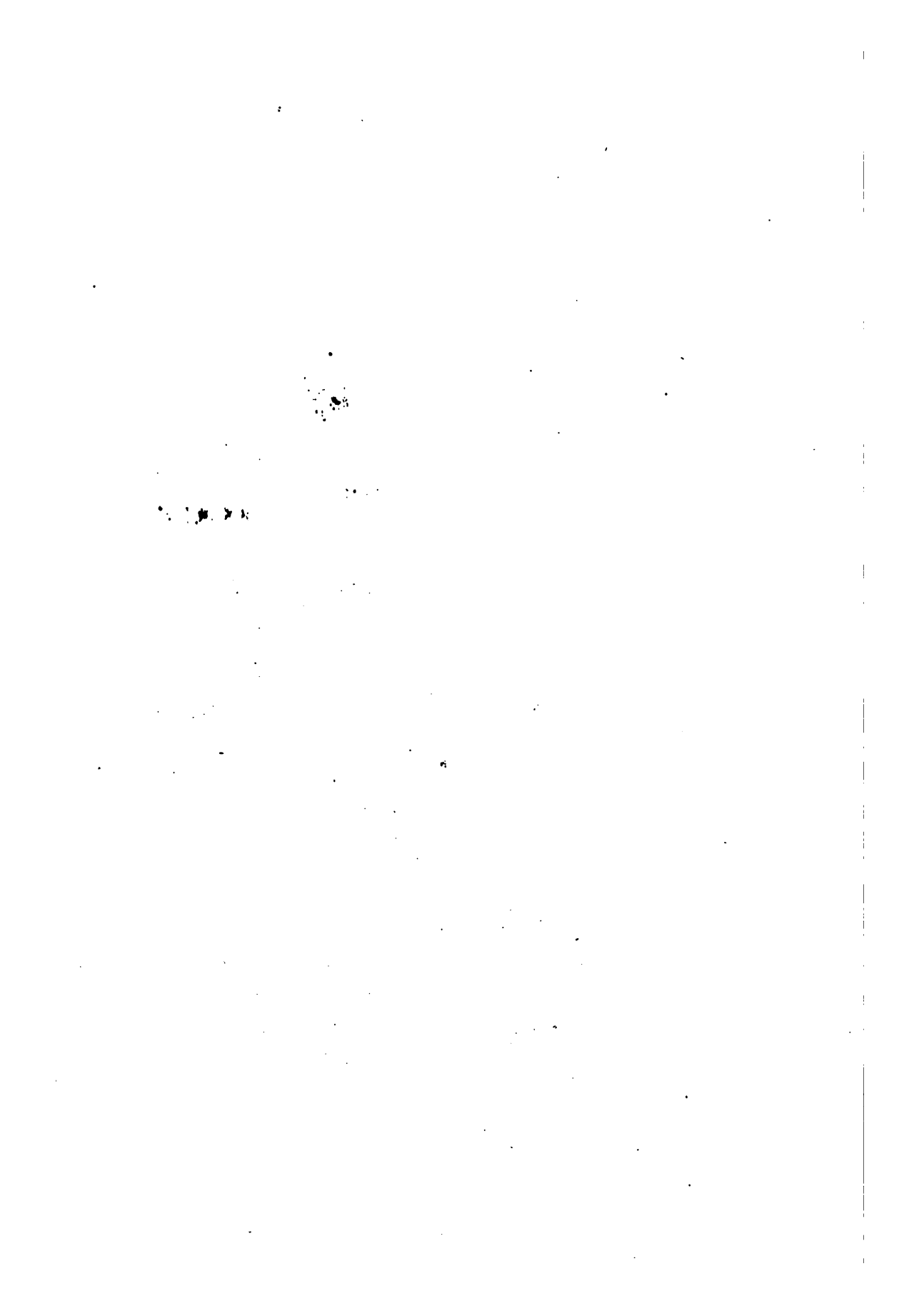
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